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THE SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS

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CHAPTER I.

The Spiritual Franciscans.

When an idea finds acceptance in the world, it clothes itself in forms available for it and adapted to it. Socialization means institutionalization. For if an idea is to have growth, it must adopt propagandism; and propagandism implies the equipment of missionaries, the establishment of posts and stations, the instruction of neophytes, the control of agents, the commission of tribunals—in a single word, organization. To a majority of converts to any religious ideal this course of development seems normal and desirable, the index of the triumph of the ideal among men. But a minority have always deplored such adaptation and institutionalization as a weak compromise with the world, or even as a treasonable surrender of the pure ideal to those very powers of evil for whose destruction it was conceived. Moreover, the zealous minority, bound into a closer solidarity by the very fact of their minority, their puritanism heightened by persecution, have quite commonly developed the pathological traits consequent upon the conviction of persecuted innocence and impotent fidelity. They have appealed from the world to heaven, from time to eternity, from man to God. Their language has ceased to be a medium of human commerce, and has become an instrument of supernatural oracles. Their refuge has been in retreat, absorption, mysticism, prophecy, ecstasy. Their fate, in so far as

they have not been crushed by persecution, reconciled by persuasion, or sobered by compromise, has been a gradual weakening to final euthanasia.

The Franciscan zealots were such a minority. Their fortunes during the century from the death of Saint Francis of Assisi to the death of Pope John XXII form an important chapter of medieval history. For not only did they manifest in themselves all the traits of the righteous and persecuted minority—mysticism, asceticism, prophetism—but they also had a part to play in events of general significance for Europe. They were the occasion of deliberation of cardinals and princes, of the publication of solemn bulls and the decrees of ecclesiastical councils. They had a hand in the creation of popes and antipopes. They stood between a hostile curia and a Holy Roman Emperor. They won the favor of kingly courts. They formed centres of attraction for heretics of various types.

Yet these remarkable enthusiasts have received but scant attention at the hands of the historians of the Church. Hardly any serious effort was made to discriminate and investigate the various groups of Franciscan zealots which appeared in the provinces of Italy and southern France until the Jesuit scholar Franz Ehrle in 1885 began his series of publications in the *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte,* entitled, "Die Spiritualen, ihr Verhältniss zum Franciscanerorden und zu den Fraticellen", "Zur Vorgeschichte des Concils von Vienne", and "Petrus Johannis Olivi, sein Leben und seine Schriften".[1] As the titles show, Ehrle's work was concerned primarily with the Spiri-

[1] *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte* (*A. L. K. G.*), I, 508-569; II, 108-164, 249-336, 353-416; III, 1-196, 409-552, 553-623; IV, 1-201.

tual Franciscans of the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. The same year (1885) there appeared a trenchant critical analysis of the Franciscan order in the earlier years of the thirteenth century, by Karl Müller,[2] and the first volume of a series of careful publications of early Franciscan texts by the Minorite brothers of the College of Saint Bonaventura at Quaracchi, near Florence.[3] These books marked rather than inaugurated the revival in the study of the Franciscan movement, which was stimulated by the celebration of the seven hundredth anniversary of the Poverello's birth (1882), and which has continued strong to the present time.

Since the appearance in 1894 of Paul Sabatier's *Vie de Saint François d'Assise,* the literature of the Franciscan revival has been characterized by two tendencies: the first toward the study of the earliest years of the order, and the second toward the separation of Franciscan scholars into two sharply defined groups—Sabatier's followers and Sabatier's opponents.[4] In the intense polemics over the early years of the order, the history of the later development of the Spiritual party has been unduly neglected. Even Ehrle's magnificent contribution has lain unused and almost unread, except for the gleaning of some quotations from Angelo da

[2] *Die Anfänge des Minoritenordens und der Bussbrüderschaften,* Freiburg, 1885.

[3] *Analecta Franciscana, sive Chronica aliaque Documenta ad Historiam Minorum Spectantia, ed. Quinzianus Müller et al. ad Claras Aquas,* 1885 ff.

[4] The most determined opponents of Sabatier have been the Bollandist Van Ortroy and Faloci-Pulignani, editor of the *Miscellanea Franciscana.* The chief question at issue has been the authenticity and date of certain documents purporting to come from Francis' immediate disciples. A statement of the case for and against Sabatier's "school" would need more space than a foot-note can afford. See Bibliographical Note, Appendix III.

Clarino's *Historia Tribulacionum* as proof texts in the controversies over the origins of the order.[5]

The object of this essay is to give a survey of the Spiritual Franciscans through the entire first century of the order, from the death of Saint Francis to the days of Pope John XXII. For logical purposes I shall neglect the chronological order, taking as a starting point an event just in the middle of the period under survey and working both backward and forward therefrom.

At the chapter-general of the order held at Narbonne in 1260, the minister-general, Bonaventura, was commissioned to write the legend of Saint Francis.[6] The chapter at Pisa three years later solemnly approved the work; while the next chapter, held at Paris under Bonaventura's presidency in 1266, published the following significant decree: "Item praecipit generale Capitulum per oboedientiam quod omnes legendae de beato Francisco olim factae deleantur; et ubi invenire poterunt extra ordinem ipsas fratres studeant amovere, cum illa legenda quae facta est per Generalem sit compilata prout ipse habuit ab ore illorum qui cum beato Francisco quasi semper fuerunt et cuncta certitudinaliter sciverint".[7]

[5] Mr. H. C. Lea in his *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, (vol. III), has used Ehrle's writings for his short chapter on "The Spiritual Franciscans".

[6] "Legenda Sancti Francisci, Bonaventura auctore." *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct., tom. II, 3, 1.

[7] Found in a manuscript of sermons at Gubbio, and published by Rinaldi in the preface to his edition of the *Vita Secunda S. Francisci* by Thomas of Celano, 1806. Luke Wadding, the annalist of the Order, knew of the decree suppressing the legends prior to Bonaventura's, but he wrongly attributed it to the chapter of Pisa. He says: "Utramque historiam obtulit [Bonaventura] triennio post in comitiis Pisanis fratribus ordinis quas . . . suppressis aliis quibusque legendis admiserunt". Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 2d ed., Fonseca, Rome, 1731 ff., *ad ann.* 1260, no. 18.

That this decree was not simply a guileless, disinterested measure "to secure liturgical harmony", as Van Ortroy contends, but was part of a policy to have done with the dangerous influence of the party which stood for a return to the early purity and simplicity of the order, is shown by the fact that the same chapter of Narbonne drew up the official catalogue of the Constitutions of the order, and prescribed in the first rubric of the same that all other existing Constitutions should be destroyed.[8]

The moment of Bonaventura's accession to the generalship of the order was a critical one. His predecessor, John of Parma (1247-1257), had been a pronounced patron of the strict party, himself a man of stern ascetic piety.[9] Under his generalate the party had dared to assert itself in prophetic writings which breathed a tone of hostility to the Roman Church, and to hail the dawn of a new era of the Spirit, in which the "true Franciscans" (themselves, naturally) should rule. The great order was seriously compromised in the eyes of the Roman court. The time had come to put a stop to the ravings of fanatics. Bonaventura, though he was himself a mystic[10] and keenly alive to the world-

[8] *Analecta Bollandiana,* XVIII (1899). See also Ehrle's original discussion of the subject in the *A. L. K. G.,* VI, "Die älteste Redaction der Generalconstitutionen des Franciscanerordens".

[9] For the opposition of the "lax" Franciscans to John of Parma see Wadding's Tacitean passage, *ad ann.* 1256, no. 1: "Hinc secretum murmur, frequentia conciliabula, deinde constans in hominem conspiratio quae eousque prorupit ut de multis accusarent virum probum apud Pontificem".

[10] See his works, the *Breviloquium* and the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum,* ed. Hefele, Tübingen, 1861. Thomas Davidson has declared the latter work "a complete manual of mysticism".

liness which had crept in among the brothers,[11] nevertheless did not hesitate an instant when it was a question of saving the reputation of the order in the eyes of the great Catholic Church. In the chapter of Città della Pieve he proceeded with such severity against the "fanatics" that even the saintly John of Parma himself was condemned, and would hardly have escaped prison had it not been for the timely intervention of his friend, the cardinal Ottobonus Fliscus, later Pope Hadrian V.[12]

How well the decree of the Parisian chapter of 1266 succeeded in retiring the earlier legends of Saint Francis is strikingly shown by the embarrassment of the Spiritual party a few decades later. Angelo da Clarino and his followers knew that the Poverello had "communicated many things to his companions and the earliest brethren", which had been lost in consequence of Bonaventura's decree.[13] They were therefore limited to a few meagre documents like the *cedulae* and *rotuli* of Brother Leo in the conduct of their case against the lax majority of the order. Moreover, the early Rules, in which Saint Francis had expressed his own will for his order, were superseded by the emasculated official Rule, which was approved by the pope in 1223 (*regula bullata*). The earlier biographers[14] mention the several

[11] Bonaventura says of the abuses in the Order: "licet tepidis et indevotis et secundum carnem sapientibus . . . quasi facilia et excusabilia et irremediabilia videantur". *Opera S. Bonaventurae, Epist.* I. (Quaracchi, III, 468-469).

[12] *Historia Septem Tribulacionum Ordinis Minorum,* by Angelo da Clarino; Ehrle in *A. L. K. G.,* II, 285-286 (cited below as *Hist. Trib.*).

[13] "Communicaverat enim sanctus Franciscus plurima sociis suis et fratribus antiquis, que oblivione tradita sunt, tum quia que scripta erant in legenda prima . . . deleta et destructa sunt ipso [Bonaventura] jubente." *Hist. Trib.,* folio 326. Ehrle, *A. L. K. G.,* II, 265-266.

[14] *Legenda Trium Sociorum,* 35, 57; *Vita Secunda, auctore Celano,* 3, 68; 3, 110.

Rules which the saint composed, but from Bonaventura's day these Rules fell into oblivion, and were, like the early legends, lost to the Spirituals of the fourteenth century.[15]

The crusade of the opening years of Bonaventura's generalate against the Franciscan writings which could become dangerous weapons in the hands of the Spiritual party, though not accompanied by cruel persecutions like those under Boniface VIII and Clement V, nor attended by the dramatic scenes of the long struggle of the party against the implacable John XXII, nevertheless was the very chief crisis in the history of the order. It marked the consummation of the policy begun by Gregory IX in his famous bull, *Quo elongati saeculo,* namely, the subordination of the order to the Roman curia. Until Bonaventura's time the strict minority, although a party of protest, and subject to some persecution, were not schismatists. They had seen the order growing worldly and rich, building fine churches and competing for chairs of learning in the universities. They had seen it binding itself in closer and closer obli-

[15] See Sabatier, *Speculum Perfectionis, seu S. Francisci Assisiensis Legenda Antiquissima,* Paris, 1898, Introduction, pp. lix-lx. In insisting on the fact that the use of the primitive Rule (1210-1221) by the author of the *Speculum Perfectionis* places the composition of the legend in the early part of the thirteenth century, Sabatier remarks: "À partir de Bonaventure, la règle primitive tombe dans l'oubli. Les Franciscains spirituels du commencement du XIV^e^ siècle ne songèrent pas à l'en tirer". But Van Ortroy in 1902 found in the library of Saint Isidore a manuscript containing the "Declaration of the Rule of Angelo da Clarino", showing that the early Rule was known to this prominent Spiritual of the fourteenth century. Lemmens in his recent edition of the *Opuscula Sancti Patris Francisci Assisiensis* (Quaracchi, 1904) attacks Sabatier's position, as if it were taken after Van Ortroy's discovery (p. 165). To this Sabatier very justly replies in the tenth *fascicule* of the *Opuscules de Critique Historique* (Paris, 1904): "Me pardonnera-t-on si je réponds que n'étant ni prophète ni même devin, il m'aurait été difficile de tenir compte en 1898 d'une œuvre signalée pour la première fois le 15 Octobre, 1902?" (p. 122).

gation to the pope, by the acceptance of various concessions and exemptions. They hoped still, however, for reform in this present age and for the continuance of the order, under the guidance of spiritually minded leaders, in the path of obedience to the Rule and Testament of Saint Francis.[16] When John of Parma was elected to the generalate a prayer of thanksgiving went up from the hearts of the patient saints, and the impetuous Brother Giles saluted the new chief with the cry of plaintive triumph: "Bene et opportune venisti, frater, sed tarde venisti".[17] Their rejoicing was cut short however. John of Parma was not strong enough to sustain the attacks of the lax majority inspired by Rome. He was accused of insubordination, presumptuousness, and heresy;[18] and at the chapter of Ara Coeli in Rome (February, 1257) he was compelled by the pope to resign.[19]

Therewith the hopes of the zealots for the realization of their ideals in the present age and in the order

[16] See the account of the seventy-two brothers who came on an embassy to Innocent IV in the time of Crescentius (1244) to plead for the reform of the Order. *Hist. Trib.*, 29a, Ehrle, *loc. cit.* Angelo dignifies this protest by the name of "schism", which seems to me a premature use of the word.

[17] "Socii s. Francisci qui tunc supererant laetabantur et gaudebant, quia in ipso [John of Parma] s. Franciscum in spiritu resurrectum cernebant. Gratia agimus tibi, Domine, dicebant, quia recordatus es nostri" . . . *Hist. Trib.*, 31, Ehrle, *loc. cit.* Cf. Wadding, *ad ann.* 1247, no. 4: "Vir sanctus . . . cuius electio pacem ordini restituit".

[18] See above, note 9. Charges at length in Wadding, *ad ann.* 1256, no. 2.

[19] There is a dispute among the early historians of the Order whether John of Parma resigned voluntarily or under pressure from the pope. Angelo (*Hist. Trib.*, 34b), Bernard of Bessa (Ehrle, in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, VII, 343), Salimbene (*Chronica*, ed. Parma, 1857, p. 137), and Wadding (*loc. cit.*) support the former view. On the other hand, the author of the *Cronica XXIV Generalium* reports a certain legend of Peregrinus de Bononia as authority for the enforced resignation: "Et ego, inquit, in capitulo fui mediator inter ipsum et ministros, et hoc habui ex ore eius". H. Denifle, in *A. L. K. G.*, I, 147. Perhaps Peregrinus's legend was one of those lost after 1266.

at large were rudely shattered. They drew farther and farther apart from the lax majority, and took refuge in the mystical interpretation of Scripture and in apocalyptic hopes. Under the leadership of that obscure genius, Petrus Johannis Olivi in Provence, and of Ubertino da Casale, Liberato, and Angelo da Clarino in Italy, they established strong centres for the promulgation of the ascetic-apocalyptic ideas of the Abbot Joachim of Flora, and brought upon themselves the bitter persecution of the heads of the order. Even the hunted victims of the Inquisition, the sly Cathari and the meek Waldenses, were less hateful to the great community of the Minorites than were these puritanical separatists. "Never was meat sold dearer in a butcher's shop than the price your flesh would bring", said the inquisitor Thomas of Aversa to Brother Liberato, who was injudiciously tarrying in his district.[20] The history of the persecution of the zealots in Provence, Tuscany, Umbria, the March of Ancona, and the Kingdom of Naples, in the years from the Council of Lyons (1274) to the death of John XXII (1334), forms a stirring chapter of medieval history. We may say, then, that the generalate of Bonaventura marks the dividing line between the two periods in the history of the Spiritual Franciscans: the first period extending from the early protests in the order to the deposition of John of Parma and the measures of Bonaventura for the suppression of the literature inspired by the zealous companion of Saint Francis; the second period extending from the

[20] "Et conversus ad fratrem Liberatum dixit: Non potest exprimi lingua quantum fratres Minores aversus te odium conceperunt. Et ego, si voluissem te vendere, nunquam alicuius animalis carnes fuerunt ita care vendita in macello." *Hist. Trib.*, 54b.

Council of Lyons to the extinction of the schismatists by John XXII.

The recovery of pieces of literature which antedate the official legend of Bonaventura has been, until the last generation, only occasional. Luke Wadding, the classic historiographer of the order, and an indefatigable collector of manuscripts, used a number of such pieces in his monumental *Annales Fratrum Minorum* (Antwerp, 1625 ff.). But Wadding was neither exact in the description nor careful in the preservation of his sources. The Bollandist Suyskens,[21] in the eighteenth century, published, along with Bonaventura's, two earlier legends of the Poverello: one written by Thomas of Celano at Pope Gregory IX's bidding, in 1228-1229;[22] the other, by three companions of Saint Francis, Brothers Leo, Angelo, and Rufinus.[23] A third step in the recovery of the early legends was the publication by Father Rinaldi at Rome in 1806 of Thomas of Celano's *Vita Secunda S. Francisci.*[24] From 1806 no advance was made in the study of the sources of the Franciscan movement until recent years, when Ehrle, Müller, Sabatier, Van Ortroy, Little, Mandonnet, and other scholars have contributed important documents and critical articles to early Franciscan history.

[21] *Acta Sanctorum,* Oct., tom. II, pp. 683-723, 723-742. A new edition of the legend of Celano, published by H. G. Rosedale, London, 1904. (See notice of same in Bibliographical Note, Appendix III.)

[22] MS. Latin 3817 [Alcove] of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris: "Apud Perusium felix dominus papa Gregorius nonus, secundo pontificatus sui anno, quinto Kal. Martii [Feb. 25, 1229] legendam hanc recepit et censuit fore tenendam". The last three words indicate that even as early as 1229 there were competing legends of the saint.

[23] *Legenda Trium Sociorum. Acta Sanctorum,* Oct., II, 723-742.

[24] *Seraphici Viri S. Francisci Assisiensis Vitae duae,* Rome, 1806. The Second Life was written at the invitation of the General Crescentius, 1246-1247. See Prologue I: "Placet vobis . . . pervitati nostrae injungere", etc. . . . For new developments in the criticism of this legend see Appendix III.

Doubtless such literature as is now recovered and printed is only a meagre scrap of what was written in the early years of the order, and what may still, in great abundance, be awaiting discovery—especially in the monasteries of the Low Countries and northern Germany, because there they were furthest from the hands of the censor.[25]

We have not hints alone, but proof positive, that there was a lively literary activity in the order before the middle of the thirteenth century. In the first place, the closing words of the endorsement of the *Vita Prima* by Thomas of Celano contain strong suggestion that there were conflicting interpretations of the life of Saint Francis as early as the year 1229.[26] Secondly, when the legend just mentioned became impracticable as the official legend of the order, on account of the disgrace and defection of Brother Elias, the chapter of Genoa (1244) issued a general invitation to the Minorites to write down whatever they knew of the life of Saint Francis, and submit it to the General Crescentius for the compilation of a new legend.[27] Thirdly, the only piece of writing that has come down to us as a result of the solicitation of the chapter of Genoa, the *Legenda Trium Sociorum*,[28] is only a fragment. It recounts the early life, the conversion and the ministry of the Saint, down to the year 1220, in great detail;[29] then it skips

[25] M. Sabatier has already begun the search among the convent libraries of Belgium, but thus far with little success, "à cause de la mauvaise grâce rencontrée dans les couvents", as he writes me in a recent letter.

[26] See n. 22.

[27] Glassberger's *Cronica, ad ann.* 1244, in *Analecta Franciscana*, Quaracchi, II, 68 (1889).

[28] See n. 23.

[29] See chs. 1-67.

the years of quarrel between the zealots and the party of Elias, and ends with a hasty notice of the death and canonization of Saint Francis.[30] It promises in the Prologue to relate the miracles as well as the conversation of the Saint, but there is no trace of miracles in the legend as we have it.[31]

Now all this points to an activity of parties in the earlier decades of the Franciscan movement, far different from the atmosphere of monotonous miracles which envelops Bonaventura's official legend. We find the ascetic " companions " of the Saint, Bernard of Quintevalle, Leo, Angelo, Rufinus, Masseo, Giles—men who receive no mention at all in the legends of Celano and Bonaventura—in decided opposition to the measures introduced by Elias for the popularization of the order. Their norm of conduct was the Rule of Saint Francis *sine glossa,* which Gregory IX in his bull *Quo elongati* (1230) " interpreted " in such manner as to exclude the laxer party from obeying its spirit, while they observed all the while its letter.[32] Their gospel was the Testament of Saint Francis, which the same bull of Gregory

[30] See chs. 68-73.

[31] There have been two notable attempts at the reconstruction of the *Legenda Trium Sociorum* within the past seven years. In 1899 two Roman Minorites, Marcellino da Civezza and Teofilo Domenichelli, published what they claimed to be the complete text of the legend, retranslated into Latin from the publication by Melchiorri (1856) of an old Italian translation made by Achille Muzio di San Severino in the year 1577. The author believes this translation to have been made from a manuscript of the thirteenth century. Of M. Sabatier's discovery and publication of the *Speculum Perfectionis,* in 1898, as the basis of the Legend, I shall speak presently in the text of this essay. Sabatier, as recently as March, 1903, recovered fifteen new chapters of the *Legenda Trium Sociorum.* See Bibliographical Note, Appendix III.

[32] The Spiritual Franciscans of the fourteenth century looked back with indignant protest on this " betrayal " of the trust of St. Francis. Ubertino da Casale, in his *Arbor Vitae Crucifixi,* a mystical work published in 1305, says: " Est stupor quare quaeritur expositio super litteram [the Rule of Saint Francis] sic apertam "; V, 3.

IX declared not binding on the order at large, on the irrelevant ground that a minister-general could not bind his successors—as if Saint Francis' relation to the order were analogous to that of John Parenti or Elias![33] Their manifesto was a legend (or several legends) whose contents were mutilated and whose circulation was suppressed by ministerial authority.[34]

M. Sabatier, in a magnificent piece of critical sifting of a sixteenth-century source, has recovered what he claims to be the oldest version of the legend, or group of legends, of Saint Francis, compiled by Brother Leo in 1227 as a protest against the incipient extravagance of Brother Elias and his followers.[35] It was immediately recognized by scholars of all shades of opinion that the document published by Sabatier was of great importance for the history of the order. A spirited controversy is still being waged over it by the champions of the Conventual Franciscans, on the one side, and M. Sabatier, with a few sympathetic helpers, on the

[33] "Ad mandatum illud vos dicimus non teneri . . . cum non habeat imperium par in parem" (!). Bull, *Quo elongati,* 1230.

[34] This statement refers to Bonaventura's decree of 1266. But M. Sabatier ingeniously suggests that even the *Vita Secunda* of 1246 may have been planned with the same end in view. He thinks Celano was chosen by Gregory IX as a sort of chairman of a committee to sift and order the material brought in, in response to the invitation of the chapter of Genoa (note 27), and to destroy the "dangerous" portions. "Critical Study of the Sources" in appendix to the *Life of St. Francis of Assisi,* Eng. tr., p. 386. The view is not supported by sufficient evidence for unreserved acceptance; but it is a very tempting hypothesis. See Appendix III.

[35] *Speculum Perfectionis, seu S. Francisci Assisiensis Legenda Antiquissima, auctore Fratre Leone,* Paris, Fischbacher, 1898. In hunting for the lost chapters of the *Legenda Trium Sociorum,* Sabatier analyzed the *Speculum Vitae S. Francisci,* published at Venice, 1504. Separating from this very uneven composite work some chapters of the *Fioretti,* bits of St. Francis' own works, and comments on the Indulgence of the Portiuncula, Sabatier reduced his source to 118 homogeneous chapters which he believed to be a very early legend of the Saint. The *Speculum Perfectionis* (Cod. Mazarinus, 1743) was found to contain 124 chapters, of which 116 correspond to Sabatier's 118 (!).

other. M. Sabatier has met the attacks of the orthodox Franciscans with patient respect, and replied to them with scrupulous honesty of scholarship.[36] He may have yielded rather hastily, in his enthusiasm, to the temptation of declaring, with too little qualification, the time and motive of the composition of the document,[37] but he has shown beyond reasonable doubt that the *Speculum Perfectionis* is built up, in its present shape, on the earliest and most valuable legendary material of the Saint that we possess (sayings of early companions, *cedulae* and *rotuli* of Brothers Leo and Angelo, etc.). It is the elder brother of the *Legenda Trium Sociorum,* completing that valuable but fragmentary source in just the respect most needed—the portrayal of the religious and social ideas of Saint Francis. The *Speculum Perfectionis* (or its ancestor) may have been suppressed by Elias, just as the most valuable part of the *Legenda Trium Sociorum* was suppressed by Crescentius.[38]

We may therefore follow the line back from Bonaventura, through the group of writings called out by the invitation of the chapter of Genoa, to the earliest legends of Thomas of Celano and Brother Leo:

Legends of the Zealots		Official Legends
Rotuli and *Cedulae* of Brother Leo, as original of the *Speculum Perfectionis,* (1227) and *Legenda Vetus*		I Celano, by order of Gregory IX (1229)
↓		↓
Legenda Trium Sociorum, by Leo, Rufinus, and Angelo (1246) on invitation of Chapter of Genoa (1244)	→	II Celano, by order of Crescentius (1247) (revision of *Leg. Trium Soc.?*)

Legend of Bonaventura, 1261
(Written by order of Chapter of Narbonne, 1260, approved, 1263, made official, 1266)

[36] Cf. *Revue Historique,* LXXV, 61-101.
[37] See Bibliographical Note, Appendix III.
[38] See n. 34.

In addition to the early legends, we have one very valuable source for the history of the Franciscan zealots both before and after Bonaventura's time in the works of an Italian Spiritual of the fourteenth century, Angelo da Clarino. His *Epistola Excusatoria,* presented to Pope John XXII in 1317, and his *Historia Septem Tribulacionum Ordinis Minorum,* written about 1330, are both apologies for the orthodoxy and orderliness of the Spiritual party in the midst of persecution through its whole existence.[39] The first four of the *Tribulations* deal with the years anterior to the Parisian decree of 1266.

The picture which we get from all these sources of the early history of the brothers of the stricter observance of the Rule and Testament of Saint Francis is that of a protesting minority rather than a revolting faction. They have not yet thought of a separate order, but only of a purified order. They have not developed a theology; for their whole creed has been obedience to the ideal of poverty as pursued by their master. They have endured persecution, not because they boldly advanced to champion new heresies, but because they refused to drift with the tide of prosperity and accept the standard of life prescribed for them by the pope and his advisers. Wherever we open the story of the early persecutions we find the same tale; the zealots protest against the violence and extravagance of Elias and are shut up in prison;[40] they make up a committee of seventy-two to carry their complaints of Crescentius'

[39] Both published by Ehrle in *A. L. K. G.,* I and II (except the first two *Tribulations*). Döllinger's text in the *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters,* Munich, 1890, II, 417-427, is very unsatisfactory; whole pages are wanting.

[40] Subject of the second *Tribulation.* Outlined only in Angelo da Clarino's *Hist. Trib.,* Ehrle, *A. L. K. G.,* II, 120.

mismanagement of the order to the pope, but are anticipated by the machinations of Bonadies, and sent in pairs into distant exile;[41] they rally to the support of John of Parma, but only to see their champion deposed and escaping by a hair's breadth the prisoner's cell.[42] It was a prolonged moral struggle[43] for supremacy between the party of accommodation to prevailing ecclesiastical standards, and the party of uncompromising fidelity to the lofty ideal of self-abandonment and self-emptying which was set up by the Poverello. The party of accommodation won when they overthrew John of Parma, and they clinched their victory by the Parisian decree of 1266.

The history of the Spiritual party under the successors of Bonaventura presents a considerable contrast to that of the early zealots. It is a story of schism and rebellion in the order, of compromising relations with heretical sects, and of warfare with the Roman curia. We have to do here with several quite distinct groups of zealots in Provence, Umbria, Tuscany, the March of Ancona, Sicily, and Naples, which were not bound together organically or even intimately associated with each other. Strict observance of the Rule of Saint Francis was the only common bond of these groups. On the questions of attitude to the pope, of obedience to the heads of the order, of purity of Catholic doctrine, there was considerable diversity. It is necessary, therefore, to treat distinctly the various groups of zealots after Bonaventura's time.

[41] Subject of the third *Tribulation*. *A. L. K. G.*, II, 256-271.

[42] Subject of the fourth *Tribulation*. *A. L. K. G.*, II, 271-289.

[43] Even the first *Tribulation* (1220-1226) is described by Angelo as "secretum schisma et magna dissentio", Ehrle, *loc. cit.*

Our primary source here again is the *Historia Tribulacionum* of Angelo da Clarino, which grows more extensive and explicit as it approaches the fourteenth century, and deals with events in the author's own memory. Furthermore, we have the works of Petrus Johannis Olivi, the chief of the Provençal group of zealots, and the *dossier* of the proceedings against Olivi and his followers at the Council of Vienne (1310-1312); voluminous bulls and constitutions of Pope John XXII, directed against the refractory brothers of Provence and Italy; and the documents relating to the quarrel between John XXII and the schismatic Michaelists.[44] The various chronicles and annals of the order (especially Wadding's) have saved us many scattered notices of the Spirituals not found in the continuous sources.

We shall now follow the fortunes of the Spiritual Franciscans in their various groups from the close of Bonaventura's generalate (1274) to the extinction of the schismatic *Parfüsser,* who deserted the pope for Lewis, the "cursed Bavarian".

[44] Olivi's writings are published, together with a sketch of his life, by Ehrle in *A. L. K. G.,* III, 409-540. The documents of the tribunal of Clement V are in the same author's "Zur Vorgeschichte des Concils von Vienne", *ib.,* II, 353-374, III, 1-196. John XXII's decretals in *Extravagantes Johannis XXII, Corpus Juris Canonici,* Friedberg, 1881, II. The documents relating to the quarrel over poverty, in Karl Müller's *Der Kampf Ludwigs des Bayern mit der römischen Curie,* Tübingen, 1879.

CHAPTER II.

The Spirituals of the March of Ancona.

"While the council (of 1274) was being celebrated at Lyons, a rumor arose among the brothers in Italy, and especially in the province of the March of Ancona, that the pope wished to force the Minorites and the Brothers Preachers to receive possessions and hold them in their own right. This news was received with various comments among the brothers, some of them deploring the fact that the pope should conceive such a plan, others maintaining that the brothers at large would live more comfortably and peaceably by accepting the decree, and that innumerable scruples would be lifted from their hearts.[1] The discussion of the matter waxed warm, threatening to divide the brothers into two irreconcilable camps. One party strenuously maintained that the pope had a right to ordain such a statute, and that it was every brother's duty to obey. Their

[1] The Rule of St. Francis contained the express prohibition: "Unde nullus fratrum, ubicumque sit et quocumque vadat, aliquo modo tollat nec recipiat nec recipi faciat pecuniam aut denarios . . . quia non debemus maiorem utilitatem habere et refutare in pecunia et denariis quam in lapidibus". *Regula* (1221), cap. 8. As the order grew, however, and funds became necessary for the maintenance of churches and convents, Gregory IX (at the instigation of Elias?) in the bull *Quo elongati* (1230) virtually abrogated this provision of the Rule by providing agents (*nuncii*) who should receive and manage all moneys donated to the order. The brothers' hands were still kept from the contaminating touch of the *denarii*, but the flimsy subterfuge must have seemed a mockery of honor to the few who wished to observe the Poverello's commands.

opponents said (and not so wisely) that the pope had no right to change a statute which was revealed by God,[2] confirmed by the pontiffs before him,[3] and recommended by the lives of the Apostles. The dispute grew more violent, till finally the men who were for obedience to the pope above all else clamored for proceedings against their opponents by a diligent inquisition, to force them to retract their erroneous opinions." [4]

Such is Wadding's account, taken almost literally from Angelo da Clarino,[5] of the beginning of the systematic persecution of the Spiritual Franciscans. The " rumor " which gave occasion to the rebellious stand of the Italian zealots proved baseless;[6] but was enough to kindle to a flame the smouldering fires of protest in the souls of the faithful brothers who lived in the mountain-girt convents of the March of Ancona.[7]

[2] It was the claim of St. Francis that his Rule was not the work of human wisdom, but a revelation from God. When Pope Honorius III, in 1221, attempted to get him to modify some of its provisions, he replied: " Pater sancte, ego ista verba in regula non posui, sed Christus ", MS. Laurentiana, Codex XX. Compare the words of St. Francis in his Testament: " Nemo mihi ostendit quid deberem facere, sed Altissimus ipse mihi revelavit ". Wadding, *ad ann.* 1226, no. 35.

[3] *E. g.,* Pope Innocent IV's bull *Ordinem Vestram,* 1245.

[4] Wadding, *ad ann.* 1275, no. 68. The fascinating story of the whole movement has been published by Ehrle in the *A. L. K. G.,* II, 301-327. My indebtedness to Ehrle appears on every page of this essay.

[5] *Hist. Trib.,* fol. 48b. Ehrle, *loc. cit.*

[6] It may have started from an extreme interpretation of the twenty-third decree of the Council of Lyons (Mansi, XXIV, 97): " quod nulla religio mulierum sustineatur nisi habeat unde possit sustentari in domo sine mendicitate et discursu ".

[7] We have ample proof that the aggressive party of zealots in the March of Ancona antedated by more than twenty years the Council of Lyons. The *Cronica XXIV Generalium* informs us anent the election of Crescentius (1244): " Hic generalis senex ingressus est ordinem . . . qui parum post factus minister Marchie invenit in ordine unam sectam fratrum non ambulantium secundum Evangelii veritatem [*sic!*], qui se meliores aliis existimabant ". However, we have no notice of the " sect " till after the Council of Lyons.

Angelo da Clarino himself was one of these brothers, and his chronicle here takes on the completeness, the vividness, the accuracy of the man who is writing of what be has experienced among his closest friends and compatriots. It would be difficult to find in the whole literature of the medieval church a tale more varied and exciting than that of the persecution of these Spirituals of the March of Ancona.

The inquisition demanded by the papal party was established, and some of the most influential zealots, remaining obstinate in their single attachment to the Rule of Saint Francis, were committed to prison. A reign of terror was instituted. Criticism of the acts of terror was interdicted on pain of fresh torture. The chiefs of the party (Angelo, Liberato, Thomas of Tollentius) were kept in prison until the election of Raymundus Gaufridi as minister-general in 1289. Gaufridi was in thorough sympathy with the zealots.[8] He liberated the imprisoned men, and, at their own urgent request, sent them on a mission to King Haiton of Armenia, far from the persecution of the jealous brothers of the laxer observance.[9] But hatred followed them even beyond the seas. The brothers of the province of Syria (one of Saint Francis' earliest conquests) compelled their minister to send a " slanderous letter " to the King of Armenia and to the Minorites in his realm, in which the little group of missionaries were accused of apostasy, schism, and heresy. The noble king refused

[8] Like John of Parma, Gaufridi was obliged to resign (1295) by the pope (Boniface VIII). He later began the defence of the Spirituals before Clement V's tribunal (1310), but died before the case was finished.

[9] When Gaufridi was told why the zealots were in prison he exclaimed, " Utinam omnes nos et totus ordo talis criminis noxa teneretur!" *Hist. Trib.*, fol. 50a.

to be prejudiced against his visitors, but the hatred of the Syrian brothers became so keen that Liberato and his group deemed it best to return to Italy and seek exculpation and protection from the minister-general of the order. The animus of the Italian brothers against them was intense. When Liberato and Angelo sought a resting-place in their own province of the March, until they could get an audience with the general, they were rudely repulsed by the vicar of the province, who declared that he would " rather receive and shelter a band of fornicators in his province than these two men ".[10]

In less than a year after the return of the missionaries from Armenia, however, an event happened which suddenly raised the zealots from a position of precarious vagrancy to one of secure power. The papal conclave, after two years of wrangling between the creatures of the French king, led by the Colonnas, and the Italian " patriots ", led by the Orsini, in a transport of apparent reconciliation chose for the supreme lord of Christendom a decrepit eremite monk, Peter of Morro. The splendid train of cardinals and archbishops filed up the steep mountain side of the Abruzzi to his lowly hermitage, and hailed the unwilling monk as the successor of Saint Peter. Resistance was vain ; and the hermit came down to Rome as Pope Celestin V.

It was all a sham and a pageant. Celestin V was only a pawn in the game played by the astute Cardinal Benedetto Gaetani to keep the Colonnas out of power. In a few months another move was made on the chessboard of Italian politics. The pawn was sacrificed.

[10] *Hist. Trib.*, fol. 52b.

"Persuaded" by Gaetani to resign—an act unprecedented in the history of the papacy—the poor old hermit willingly confessed before the assembled dignitaries of the church his inability to rule as pope, and retired in favor of the Cardinal Gaetani himself, that famous Boniface VIII, who "came in like a fox, ruled like a lion, and died like a dog".

Celestin V was naturally a patron of the brothers of the stricter observance, and he was besides a friend of Liberato's. Therefore the minister Gaufridi, unable to protect the zealots himself, sent them to Celestin.[11] The pope did for them all they asked, and more. He commended their purpose to live strictly by the Rule of Saint Francis, absolved them from all obedience to the authorities of the order, gave them the name of "Poor Hermits of Celestin", appointed Brother Liberato as their head and Cardinal Napoleone Orsini as their protector in the curia, and assigned them several hermitages of the Celestinian Benedictines.

But a sudden reversal of fortune came when Celestin V left the chair of Saint Peter's, December 13, 1294. Boniface VIII immediately declared all the acts of his predecessor which were not approved by himself null and void (April 8, 1295). Naturally, the favors granted by Celestin to the zealots of the March had not been approved by Boniface. The condition of Liberato and his companions was worse than before Celestin's accession. Then they had been only a disaffected, protesting, persecuted minority; now they were schis-

[11] "Interea fratre petro de Morrone ad pontificatum assumpto, placuit generali ministro et omnibus principalioribus fratribus in quibus Christus et eius spiritus inhabitare firmiter credebatur, quod ad sanctum pontificem frater Petrus de Macerata et eius socius [Angelo?] succederent." *Hist. Trib.*, fol. 52b.

matics. They had abjured the name of Franciscans, and consequently forfeited all claim to the protection of the order. It was a rash deed, and the punishment was severe; but we may learn how sorely they were tempted to the deed by the fact that eighteen years later their brothers in Tuscany were not deterred by their fate from repeating their act of defiance, in the face of bitter persecution.

According to the narrative of Angelo da Clarino, the Minorites began their persecution of the Poor Hermits of Celestin even before Celestin's abdication. They "sharked up a list of lawless resolutes",[12] and hunted them with violence. After Celestin had made *lo gran rifiuto,* there was small chance for help. The schismatics fled to an island (*quaedam parva insula*) somewhere in the east, where they hoped to escape the notice of their pursuers. But the Minorites at home were implacable. They accused the fugitives of the worst heresy of the age, Manicheism, and subjected them to an inquisition. When this failed to bring them to punishment, their enemies appealed to Boniface VIII, through the minister-general John of Murro, who had the pope's ear. Boniface, finding that the only offence justly charged against the zealots was their extreme devotion to the Rule of Saint Francis, replied to their persecutors, "Let them alone, for they serve God better than you".[13] Then the wily accusers played their trump card. "Holy Father", they cried, "these men are heretics and schismatics, who are preaching throughout the world that you are not rightfully pope, and many

[12] *Hist. Trib.,* fol. 53a: "Stipendio conducunt catervam hominum mundanorum".

[13] "Sinite eos servire Deo, quia ipsi faciunt melius quam vos facitis." *Hist. Trib.,* fol. 53b.

such things". Boniface could bear least of all things to have the legitimacy of his office called into question, especially at a time when his relations with the two most powerful kings of Europe, Philip the Fair of France and Edward Longshanks of England, were strained to the breaking point.[14] The accusation was effective. Boniface issued a letter of condemnation against the zealots, and committed their punishment to the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Archbishops of Athens and Patras. There is no doubt that the Spirituals under the lead of Liberato and Angelo were innocent of sedition against Boniface VIII, though they looked with disfavor, quite naturally, on his assumption of the tiara.[15] Their whole object was the peaceable enjoyment of independence in the observance of the Rule of Saint Francis. Italy was full of religious vagabonds, however, at the close of the thirteenth century,[16] who generally combined a social-political purpose (the heritage of Arnold of Brescia) with their religious vagaries. It was inevitable that the extremists among the Spiritual Franciscans, in whose eyes a regimen that was not to be approved was no more to be tolerated, should

[14] "Nihil aegrius audiebat Bonifacius quam vel levissime de sua auctoritate et canonica electione dubitari, eo praesertim tempore quo Gallorum rex Philippus Pulcher aspere et temere nimis hoc vulnus fricabat." Wadding, *ad ann.* 1302, no. 7.

[15] When subjected to the Inquisition under the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1299 it was found that they prayed for Boniface as pope, and, when persecuted beyond endurance in their Eastern refuge, they sent messengers with their letters of apology to Pope Boniface. *Hist. Trib.*, fol. 54b. The disposition of the Spirituals toward Boniface personally, however, may be seen in the savage poems of execration addressed to him by Jacopone da Todi. Cantù, *Eretici d'Italia*, I, 129 ff.

[16] Compare Boniface VIII's orders to all bishops in 1296-1297 to reduce the *Bizochi* to submission, and compel them either to enter some approved order (Lateran Council of 1215) or lay aside their religious habits. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, III, 37.

coalesce with these violent "reformers". In fact, we find a group of them in 1297 proceeding to the election of a new Celestin as pope in Saint Peter's, a certain Brother Martin of Bodici, from Provence. The inquisitors soon hunted the unfortunate pope-makers out of the neighborhood of Rome. The latter took refuge in Sicily—a land which seems to have been as popular an asylum for religious exiles since the days of Frederick II as was England for the political exiles of the nineteenth century.[17]

But to return to Liberato and his group. After trying in vain to escape the persecution encouraged by Boniface's letter of condemnation, they decided to make another plea before the pope. Their letters were intercepted by the Minorites. As a last resort, Liberato himself started for Italy, to defend the zealots in person at the Roman court. But Boniface died (October 11, 1303) before Liberato reached him. The leader of the Spirituals then fixed his hopes on Boniface's successor, Benedict XI, to whom he was introduced in Perugia in the early summer of 1304.[18] But hope was again deceived. Benedict died in July, and the French and Italian parties began anew their wrangle over the succession to the tiara. After a vacancy of eleven months the French bishop, Bertrand of Bourges, was chosen pope, and enthroned as Clement V. He was pledged to Philip IV of France as completely as any modern candidate is pledged to his party boss. Liberato again started for Rome to plead his case before the pope, but again the shadow of death stood between him and his

[17] Jordanes, *Cronica*, 236, 3, in Muratori, *Antiquitates*, XI, 766.

[18] The visit is not mentioned in the *Hist. Trib.*, but Angelo speaks of it in his *Epistola Excusatoria*, fol. 148b (*A. L. K. G.*, I, 531).

desire. He was stricken with a mortal illness on his way.

Meanwhile Angelo marshalled the brothers in the east, and brought them back to Italy. Angelo himself found favor with Cardinal Orsini. His followers, after a searching examination into their orthodoxy by Isnard, at Rome, constituted themselves into the congregation of "Clarines" in the March of Ancona. They were never free from persecution. Such of the Celestins as were taken by the inquisitor Thomas of Aversa, in Naples, were put to dreadful tortures under the name of Lombard heretics of the sect of Dolcino.[19]

The sources fail us for the continuous history of the Spirituals of the March after the first decade of the fourteenth century. That their influence was considerable we know from scattered notices in the later chronicles. Rudolphus, for example, a chronicler of the strict party, calls the province of the March *provincia stellata*.[20] The group of Angelo, on the whole, preserved itself from offensive separatism. It is to this fact, I believe, that we must attribute the otherwise inexplicable fact that Clement V expressly allowed the group to continue free from the discipline of the order.[21]

John XXII, however, was of a different stamp from the "mild and considerate" (*mitis et mansuetus*) Clement V. He was determined to purge the Church of every trace of nonconformity. In 1317, notwithstanding the elaborate plea of Angelo in the *Epistola*

[19] The details of their merciless persecution are related in the *Hist. Trib.*, fols. 55a-58a.

[20] Quoted by Wadding, *ad ann.* 1289, no. 34.

[21] "Veni igitur ad curiam in illo anno in quo concilium viennense celebratum fuit [opened October 16, 1311], et propositum est meum negotium et sotiorum domino Clementi papae, et placuit ei quod Domino serviremus in statu in quo eramus" (*i. e.*, as "Poor Hermits of Celestin"). *Epistola Excusatoria*, fol. 146a.

Excusatoria, he issued the decretal *Sancta Romana,* which classed together under a sweeping excommunication "all those who, under the name of Fraticelli, Beghines, Bizochi, and Brothers of the Poor Life, in Sicily, Italy, and France, were organizing an independent order, under the pretence of observing strictly the Rule of Saint Francis, receiving multitudes into their sects, building or accepting as gifts fine houses, begging in public, and electing superiors".[22] Angelo did not obey this decretal of John XXII. Taking advantage of the pope's nearer and more serious troubles with the Provençal Spirituals,[23] he returned to his brothers in Italy, and continued to be their "general" until his death in 1337. A manuscript discovered and published by Ehrle in 1888 [24] contains the report of an inquisition held in 1334 in the province of Rome, before which several of Angelo's followers were summoned as Fraticelli. From this report it appears that the sect regarded Angelo as their "minister-general", that there were under him several "guardians", that his secretary (*socius*) visited the various brotherhoods, that he himself, as general, sent out letters commanding obedience, and that the sect observed strictly the Rule and Testament of Saint Francis, and looked for the advent of a Spiritual pope.[25]

Wadding in his *Annales Minorum* gives us a full account of the work of the later Spirituals of the March,

[22] *Extravagantes Johannis XXII,* tit. VII, Friedberg, *loc. cit.*

[23] See chapter III.

[24] Vat. Cod. 4029.

[25] Ehrle, *A. L. K. G.,* IV, 8 ff. I quote a bit to show the flavor of the document: "Interrogatus quis est generalis eorum respondit quod est frater Angelus Clarani de Fossabruno [*sic!*] . . . item dixit quod dictus frater Angelus scripserit sicut generalis ipsis fraticelli morantibus in loco Poli." MS. Vat. Cod. 4029, fol. 75b, 76.

in the fourteenth century (John de Vallibus,[26] Gentile da Spoleto,[27] Paolo da' Trinci[28]) in establishing on the basis of the sectaries of Angelo an orthodox community of brothers of the strict observance, which, after various quarrels and fruitless negotiations with the order at large (the Conventuals),[29] was finally recognized by Leo X in his bull, *Ite et vos in vineam* (May 28, 1517).[30] Their history lies beyond the limits of this essay; and we turn our attention now to the second group of Spiritual Franciscans.

[26] Wadding, *ad ann.* 1334, no. 24; 1343, no. 10.
[27] Wadding, *ad ann.* 1350, no. 16; 1355, no. 1.
[28] Wadding, *ad ann.* 1368, nos. 10-13.
[29] Wadding, *ad ann.* 1383, no. 1; 1387, no. 1; 1418, no. 1.
[30] Wadding, *ad ann.* 1517, no. 20.

CHAPTER III.

The Spirituals of Provence.

It will aid us in the appreciation of the Spirituals of Provence if at the outset we bear in mind certain marked characteristics, determined by geography as well as by history, which distinguish them from their brothers in Italy. The southern part of France was a region peculiarly susceptible to intellectual revolution in the Midde Ages. Various heresies of dogma and vagaries of philosophy made their way from the east, across the Lombard plain, to find a home in the rich valleys of Provence and Languedoc. The fierce Albigensian crusade at the beginning of the thirteenth century had made a desert of the land, but had not cured the temper of its inhabitants. The old kingdom of Raymond of Toulouse harbored heretics in abundance still after it had been incorporated into the orthodox realm of Louis of France.

Perhaps the most striking fact of the social condition of southern France as compared with Italy in the thirteenth century was the wide diffusion of culture. The land had been receptive to the first voices of that early humanism which, but for the torture of men's bodies by the Holy Inquisition and the torture of their senses by scholasticism, might have put the work of the sixteenth century back into the thirteenth. The remains of the literature of the troubadours and satirists of the Middle Ages bear witness to an increasing

brotherhood of sanity. The religious reformer appealed directly and confidently to the people. He entered their homes. He preached in their wide fields. The hermitage never found an abiding-place in the plains of Provence, but rather on the rough sides of the Apennines and the lonely fastnesses of the Abruzzi. In Tuscany and the March of Ancona the *zelanti* drew apart from society into little groups and brotherhoods. In Provence there were no such gilds of saints. The leaven of the zealots pervaded the shops and kitchens of the country. It was there that the Spiritual Franciscans became practically amalgamated with the lay sect of the Beghines. A glance at the records of the Inquisition of Toulouse[1] shows that the inquisitor found the democratic heresies of the vagrant reformers wide-spread. The Spirituals of Provence were not so much a sect as an influence. It is not until well into the fourteenth century that we can trace any signs of organization for offence or defence among them.

Again, in Italy there was invariably and inevitably a political tinge to all heresy or suspicion of heresy. There was the pope close at hand, the lord of large territories and the master of armies. Since the days of the Saxon Ottos, yes, even since Charles the Great, the tremendous "combine" or conflict between emperor and pope had controlled the fortunes of the Italian towns as the moon sways the tides. Heresy in Italy generally meant revolt against the Roman pontiff and his court. It expressed itself in open deed rather than in covert opinion, and was dealt with as a practical political problem rather than a speculative theory.[2]

[1] *Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tolosani,* ed. Limborch.

[2] Note the example of Brother Elias, who, when removed from the generalate by Gregory IX, immediately went over to Gregory's mortal foe, the Emperor Frederick II.

We have seen how the crucial moment came in the career of the zealots of the March of Ancona, not when they were accused of Manicheism, but when they were charged with denying the legitimacy of Boniface's accession to the papacy. So we shall see in the next section how quick the Tuscan group of Spirituals were to draw the practical logical consequences of what they considered to be the prejudgment of their cause by the tribunal of Clement V. But the Spirituals of Provence were not quick to action. They had no political temptation to antagonize the pope. It was not until John XXII, at the instigation of Michael of Cesena, forced them to fight, by declaring it a heresy to wear short gowns and condemn granaries and wine cellars, that they came into direct conflict with the Roman court.[3] The idolized leader of the Provençal Spirituals, Petrus Johannis Olivi, had even written to Conrad of Offida, upbraiding the Italian Spirituals for questioning the legality of the abdication of Pope Celestin V.[4]

The dominant influence of Petrus Johannis Olivi, just named, was the third distinguishing mark of the Spirituals of Provence. This remarkable person was not only the stalwart champion of the strict observance of the Rule and Testament of Saint Francis in his life, but after his death he became the patron saint of the Spirituals of Provence. His writings, which, according to the testimony of one of his most noted disciples, exceeded by seventeenfold the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard,[5] were held in almost equal reverence with Holy

[3] Bull *Quorundam exegit caecitas,* April 13, 1317. Wadding, *ad loc.*

[4] Letter printed in the *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft,* III, 657 ff.

[5] "Et sciat sapientia apostolica quod quantitas librorum fratris Petri . . . ascendit plus quam X et VII vicibus ultra quam textus libri Sententiarum." Ubertino da Casale's apology before the tribunal of Vienne, Codex A 60, fol. 19a., Chapter library of Padua.

Scripture.[6] There is not a crisis in the history of the Spiritual Franciscans of Provence, down to their extinction by John XXII, that is not at the same time an inquisition over the writings of Olivi. And since there was a great deal of speculative theology in those writings, the case of the Provençal Spirituals was complicated by questions not at all relevant to its nature. The enemies of the party, fortified with Olivi's works, were skilful in shifting the debate from the ground of morals, where the zealots really stood, to one of dogma. The Italian Spirituals had many leaders—Liberato, Angelo da Clarino, Conrad of Offida, Ubertino da Casale, Raymundus Gaufridi, Tramundus of Tolentino—but no "uncanonized saints" or infallible oracles.[7] The issue between them and their persecutors was kept to the practical question of obedience to the order and to the pope.

Our sources for the history of the Spirituals of Provence, while far more numerous than those for the Italian group, are far less satisfactory. Angelo da Clarino treats of the French group, to be sure, in the fifth and sixth of the "Tribulations"; but the most cursory reading of his pages is enough to show the immense difference between them and the account of the Spirituals of the March of Ancona. Angelo was him-

[6] In the inquisition of 1321 in Toulouse Olivi is characterized as "sanctus non canonizatus . . . quem Deus canonizaverat in vita et in morte". *Lib. Sent. Inq. Tolos.*, ed. Limborch, p. 319.

[7] A letter from Angelo da Clarino written from Avignon to his confrères in Italy describes the immense concourse of clergy and people that flocked to Olivi's tomb at Narbonne on the day of his "feast" (March 14, 1313). It was "not less than what was customary at the feast of Saint Mary of the Portiuncula". Published by Ehrle (from MS. Strozziana) in *A. L. K. G.*, I, 544. John XXII ordered the bones of Olivi to be exhumed and his sepulcher with its votive offerings to be destroyed. *Ib.*, II, 293.

self a member of the latter group, and he tells the story of their fortunes in a direct, continuous, vivid style, which is convincing from the first word to the last. His account of the French group, on the other hand—except for the years 1317-1318, when he himself was one of those under examination by John XXII at Avignon—is vague and rambling. It consists of a few facts, interspersed with mystic disquisitions on the Rule of Saint Francis, appeals to God to judge the cause of the zealots, laudations of Olivi, miracles—in a word, padding. It is the work of a man who realizes that he is handling a subject of importance enough to demand several pages more than he has the material at hand to fill. Moreover such few facts as Angelo gives concerning the party prior to 1317 are not always to be relied on. For example, he tells us,[8] in a rather fabulous vein, how Olivi, after the condemnation of a part of his writings by the Parisian censors in 1282, made his way to the Minister-General Bonagratia[9] at Avignon, unbidden, and preached before him with such power and fervor that the minister, *gladiatus corde,* repented of the severe measures he had conceived against Olivi, and shortly afterward gave up the ghost! Now we have from Olivi's own hand a letter of self-justification written in 1285 to the Parisian censors, in which he tells us how he had tried in vain to get the ear of the authorities to exculpate himself from the errors charged against him.[10] Such a triumph as that at Avignon in 1283, recounted by Angelo, must have put an end to the inquisition.

[8] *Hist. Trib.,* fol. 43b.

[9] Bonagratia Tielci, minister-general 1279-1283, not to be confounded with Bonagratia of Bergamo, champion of the "lax" party at Vienne.

[10] Olivi's letter published by Ehrle in *A. L. K. G.,* III, 418.

Except for pieces like the letter just mentioned, we have nothing to take the place of Angelo's continuous narrative. Ehrle has published a number of these pieces (most important of which are an *Index* of a projected work on the history of the Spirituals of Provence by Raymond of Fronciacho, procurator of the order, and Ubertino da Casale's defence of Olivi) in his two long articles in the *Archiv* entitled, "Zur Vorgeschichte des Concils von Vienne".[11] Wadding had some of these documents,[12] but, like Angelo, he did not have the material necessary to place them in their true historical setting. The important defence of Olivi by Ubertino da Casale before the tribunal of Clement V, for example, Wadding puts back into the year of Olivi's death (1298), thus robbing it entirely of its significance as an apology before the head of the Church, and reducing it to a private funeral panegyric.[13] At the same time, the annalist has full and accurate information on the life of Olivi.[14] For Wadding then, in the seventeenth century, as for the Spirituals of the fourteenth, Olivi completely overshadowed his party.

We have references in Fra Salimbene's *Chronicle,* that masterpiece of medieval gossip, to early Spirituals and Joachites in Provence; and also scattered notices in the collections of Baluze and D'Argentré, and the *Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tolosanae.*

A source which we do not possess deserves mention among these fragments for the value it will have, if ever discovered to be actually in existence. That is the

[11] *A. L. K. G.,* II, 353-416; III, 1-195.
[12] *Ad ann.* 1310, no. 4.
[13] *Ad ann.* 1297, no. 36.
[14] *Ad ann.* 1278, no. 28; 1282, no. 2; 1285, no. 5; 1290, no. 10; 1292, no. 13; 1297, nos. 33 ff.

collection of documents by Raymond of Fronciacho, of which we have mentioned the *Index* in the preceding paragraph. The work is divided into five parts, as follows: Part 1 (8 chapters) discusses the Rule of Saint Francis and the four papal "interpretations" of the same in the thirteenth century.[15] Part 2 (46 chapters) contains the history of the Provençal Spirituals up to Olivi's time, *cir.* 1275—a subject on which we have almost no information at all—and, further, discusses the influence of Olivi on the party up to the time of the summons of the leaders of the Spirituals to Avignon (1309).[16] Part 3 (41 chapters) is devoted to the proceedings at Avignon and Vienne (1309-1312). Part 4 (25 chapters) treats of the rebellion and punishment of the Spirituals of Narbonne and Béziers (1314-1318). Part 5 (18 chapters) contains the history of the Tuscan group of Spirituals (1312). The *Index* alone to this collection of documents occupies twenty-six large octavo pages of fine print. What must be the fulness of the work itself which "roars so loud in the index"! Was it ever completed? Does it still lie undiscovered in the corner of some monastery?

With this brief notice of the sources, let us proceed to the history of the Provençal Spirituals. The tendency of the apologists for the party of the stricter observance is to carry the party as a well-defined sect back into the days of Saint Francis himself. As we have seen above, however, in spite of such manifestos as the *Speculum Perfectionis,* it was not until the

[15] By Gregory IX (1230), Innocent IV (1245), Nicholas III (1279), and Nicholas IV (1289).

[16] Raymond most unfairly connects the Franciscan zealots with the old heretical sects of Nicolaitans and Manicheans as well as with the recent Apostolicians and Waldensians, in this part of the *Index.*

middle of the thirteenth century that the *viri spirituales* began to be distinguished as a sect within the order. The generalate of the zealous John of Parma (1247-1257) was naturally a period of rapid incubation of their ideas. It was then that the hope for the reform of the order from within flourished; and the Joachitic prophecy of a new stage of religion, in which the *viri spirituales* should be God's instruments in the conversion of the whole earth, was revived, retouched to fit the Franciscan order, wilfully misinterpreted in certain points, and launched against the Church of the day in a volume which created more commotion than any other book of the thirteenth century: namely, the *Introductorius in Evangelium Aeternum,* published by the Franciscan Gerhard de Borgo San Donino at Paris, in 1254. The book was exhibited in the parvis of Notre Dame, so that all who ran might read.[17] Brought to the notice of Pope Alexander IV by the Parisian theologians, who were hostile to the Franciscans on account of a dispute of several years' standing over professorial chairs, the work of Gerhard was investigated by a papal commission of three cardinals, sitting at Anagni, and condemned as heretical, October 23, 1255.[18] The *Introductorius,*

[17] It is mentioned by Jean de Meung in the *Roman de la Rose* (verses 11204 ff.) as

> " Ung livre de par le grant diable,
> Dit l'Evangile pardurable. . . ."

[18] The tempting subject of the relation of the *Introductorius* to the *Evangelium Aeternum* of Joachim of Flora, " the abbot gifted with prophetic soul ", is not germane to this essay. Joachim has been interestingly treated by Renan (*Revue des Deux Mondes,* 1886, vol. LXV), Preger (*Kgl. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Munich, 1874), Tocco (*L'Eresia nel Medio Evo,* Florence, 1884), and Reuter (*Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter,* 1875); but best of all by Denifle (in *A. L. K. G.,* I, 49-145), who not only discusses with great acumen the relation of the *Introductorius* to Joachim, but prints the full text of the protocol of the commission of Anagni, by which the work was condemned.

though written by a Franciscan zealot, was by no means a manifesto of the Franciscans (as Reuter tried to prove it), even of those Franciscans who cherished the prophetic views of Joachim of Flora. Salimbene, for example, was a confessed Joachite; and yet he speaks of Gerhard's work in scathing terms of censure,[19] and witnesses to its baneful effects on the order.[20] Furthermore, the terms of Alexander IV's condemnation make clear that he did not hold the order, or any considerable part of it, responsible for Gerhard's impudent book.[21] The episode served to bring the question of the Joachitic prophecies into the foreground, however; and their influence was discovered to be so potent among the Provençals that the provincial Council of Arles (1262 or later) saw fit to condemn the writings of the Calabrian abbot *en bloc*.[22]

The next fact in the history of the Spirituals was the Council of Lyons (1274), with its determined attitude of hostility to the multiplying groups of vagrant mendicants, who, under the palladium of the Franciscan name, were defying the orders of the Lateran Council of 1215. We have already seen how an exaggerated

[19] "Excogitavit fatuitatem componendo libellum, et divulgavit stultitiam suam propalando ipsum ignorantibus fratribus. Multas falsitates contra doctrinam abbatis Joachim scripsit." Salimbene, *Cronica*, ed. Parma, 1857, pp. 102-233.

[20] "Occasione istius libelli improperatum fuit ordini et Parisius et alibi." *Ib.*, p. 102.

[21] "Quod dicti [Minores] nullum ex hoc opprobrium nullamque infamiam incurrere valeant . . . et obloquitores et aemuli non possint exinde sumere contra ipsos materiam detrahendi." Letter of Innocent to the Archbishop of Paris, D'Argentré, *Coll. Judic.*, I, 166.

[22] The Council condemned the "libri Concordantium et alii libri joachitici qui a majoribus nostris usque ad tempora manserunt intacti, utpote latitantes apud quosdam religiosos in angulis et a nostris doctoribus indiscussi". Mansi, *Hist. Conc.*, XXII, 1001. Salimbene has an amusing account of a prior reading his forbidden Joachim in a grape arbor behind the convent.

rumor of the purposes of this council started the movement in Italy which resulted in the revolt of the Spirituals of the March of Ancona and the ultimate schism of the "Poor Hermits of Celestin" from the order. In Provence the influence of the council against the Spirituals was more than balanced by the contemporaneous emergence of Petrus Johannis Olivi as the leader of the zealots.

Olivi, born in 1247, and educated at the University of Paris, had entered the order (convent of Béziers) in the year 1260, the fatal year of the Joachitic prophecies. He immediately distinguished himself by his speculative and exegetical writings. In 1278 he was called to account for some unorthodox sentences in a book on the Virgin Mary, and on the order of Minister-General Hieronymus Ascoli (afterward Pope Nicholas IV) he burned the book.[23] His ascetic writings, which Wadding says were even then inviting a schism in the order,[24] seem not to have been noticed until the chapter-general of 1282, assembled at Strassburg, accused him of "publishing a great deal hostile to the order at large".[25] The Minister-General Bonagratia, at the behest of the chapter, went to Paris, and there summoned a commission of seven chief men of the order to examine the works of Olivi—a suggestion that those works had already reached a goodly bulk.[26] The results

[23] Wadding, *ad ann.* 1278, nos. 27, 28. Angelo, *Hist. Trib.*, fol. 41b.

[24] "Tendebant tunc alii in laxiorem vitam non secundum spiritum . . . quibus Petrus sese opposuit. Alii vero ei adhaerebant et vitam venerantes et doctrinam sequentes." Wadding, *ad ann.* 1278, no. 29.

[25] "Accusatus fuit Petrus quod plurima libere nimis contra communitatem ordinis frequenter proferret." *Ib.*, 1282, no. 2.

[26] The source for the commission of inquisitors at Paris is mainly the *Cronica XXIV Generalium*, edited by the College of Saint Bonaventura, Quaracchi, vol. III. Angelo fails us here completely.

of the commission were embodied in a scroll containing thirty-two passages of questionable orthodoxy, culled from all of Olivi's works. The scroll was supplemented by a letter (the famous *Litterae septem Sigillorum*) in which were twenty-two positive propositions submitted to Olivi for subscription. Olivi concurred in the judgment of his censors, and signed the letter of the seven seals, although he objected that the heads of the order were confusing their disciplinary powers with inquisitorial prerogatives. He justly complained in his apology, dated from Nimes in 1285, that the commission spoke with all the finality of assurance of the Roman pontiff or a general council.[27] Olivi's profession of faith satisfied the heads of the order for a time, apparently; for we find him appointed as lector in the convent of Santa Croce in Florence by the General Aquasparta (1287-1289), a noted Conventualist;[28] and transferred by Aquasparta's successor Raymundus Gaufridi (1289-1295) to the higher place of lector at Montpellier. It was about the time of Olivi's transfer to Montpellier that the persecutions of the Spirituals of Provence began.[29] At the next following chapter-general of Paris (1292) Olivi appeared and argued for the strict observance of the Rule of Saint Francis, coupled with obedience to Rome and to the order—a counsel which may have been possible of observance

[27] "Ac si omnia ibidem [*i. e.*, in the letter of the seven seals] contenta esset mera fides aut autentica determinatio romani pontificis vel concilii generalis", says Olivi in his *Apologia*, published for the first time by Ehrle in *A. L. K. G.*, III, 418-421. It is a masterpiece of patient logic, enough alone to prove Olivi a born leader of thought.

[28] Aquasparta is contrasted by Dante (*Paradiso*, XII, 124) with Ubertino da Casale, the former as "fleeing", the latter as "tightening" the Rule of St. Francis.

[29] *Cronica XXIV Generalium, ad ann.* 1290, copied by Wadding almost verbatim, *ad ann.* 1290, no. 11.

in 1292, but was made impossible by popes like Boniface VIII and generals like John of Murro.[30] Olivi again satisfied the order as to his obedience, and was left, for all we know, to end his days in peace (March 14, 1298).

We lose sight of the Spirituals of Provence from Olivi's death until near the close of the first decade of the fourteenth century. It is then that the followers of Olivi begin to stand out as a well-defined group. They had patiently borne the continuous persecution of the lax majority of the order for years, when, in the spring of 1309, Arnold of Villanuova, the physician of Charles II of Sicily, and a friend of the party of the strict observance, induced his royal master to write to the minister-general, demanding a cessation of the unjust persecutions in Provence, under threat of appeal to the pope.[31] This letter, coupled with a petition to the burghers of Narbonne, had the effect of bringing the Provençal zealots before Clement V, who ordered Raymundus Gaufridi (the ex-minister-general), Guido of Mirepoix, Ubertino da Casale, and others to draw up a statement of the abuses in the order which needed correction. At the same time he appointed a tribunal of three cardinals to hear and judge the case, and, since the Spirituals whom he had called upon to present their case were exposed to annoyance from the heads of the order, he issued the decretal *Dudum ad Apostolatus*

[30] Raymond of Fronciacho in the *Index* mentioned above speaks of a letter of John of Murro in which "mandat sectam fratris Petri Johannis exstingui et sectatores dispergi". *A. L. K. G.*, III, 15. Cf. *Hist. Trib.*, fol. 47b.

[31] "Tunc [after Olivi's death] siluerunt, latuerunt et abstentaverunt se ex iis plurimi [of Olivi's followers] ruinam gladii persequencium non ferrentes, fueruntque sub pressura donec Deus per hominem amatorem veritatis Reinaldum de Villa Nova . . . regem induxit ad scribendum litteras efficaces generali ministro" . . . *Hist. Trib.*, fol. 59b.

(April 14, 1310), exempting the Spirituals from the jurisdiction of the order during the investigations.[32]

Ubertino's indictment of the order was scathing. He detailed twenty-five abuses against the Rule of Saint Francis and ten more against Nicholas III's decretal *Exiit qui seminat* (1279). He was feebly answered in a writing signed by Minister-General Gonsalvus, Alexander of Alexandria, Bonagratia of Bergamo and others. Refutation and counter-refutation followed, and the matter resolved itself into a literary debate between Raymond and Bonagratia, the voluminousness of which may be judged from the list of the titles of the pamphlets, preserved in Raymond of Fronciacho's *Index*.[33]

The champions of the Spirituals demanded nothing more than the reformation of the order, but their opponents skilfully shifted the argument to the theological plane, making capital out of the earlier suspicions against the writings of Olivi.[34] They picked out eight points of heterodoxy (it had been thirty-four in 1283!); and when the Spirituals accused them of treachery to the ideals of Saint Francis, they replied by the countercharge of rebellion against the orthodox faith. With these mutual recriminations the matter dragged on for two or three years, until Clement V in 1312 issued the bull *Exivi de Paradiso,* which was adopted as a canon of the Council of Vienne then sitting.[35] The *Exivi* was promulgated as the final adjustment of the quarrel. As it stands, it contains terms very favorable to the

[32] Wadding, *ad ann.* 1310, no. 3.

[33] *A. L. K. G.,* II, 17, 26.

[34] See n. 23, above, p. 38.

[35] For the whole proceedings, see Wadding, *ad ann.* 1310, nos. 1-8. The bull *Exivi* is printed in full in Melissanus de Macro's supplement to Wadding, *ad ann.* 1312.

Spirituals, proscribing the abuses and luxuries in the order which Ubertino had scored. But it does not, as Angelo da Clarino claims,[36] allow the Spirituals to live apart, exempt from the discipline of the order. It is impossible that Clement V could have countenanced anything like schism in the order, though he may have ordered the dissenting brothers to be treated kindly until he finally remanded them (summer of 1313) to the full authority of the general and the ministers. Only a few of the zealots threatened schism, says Wadding, *sub pallio zeli.* They all finally came around to obedience and some even did penance for their stubborn resistance: "dies suos pie et laudabiliter in religione terminarunt".[37] Considering the events of the years 1314-1318, however, this view of Wadding's appears rather roseate.

Clement V's *Exivi* did not bring the desired harmony. The zealots were so tenacious of their case and so fully intrenched in popular favor in Provence, that Alexander of Alexandria, Gonsalvus' successor in the generalate (1313-1314), thought it advisable, while holding to the letter of Clement V's *Exivi,* to allow the Spirituals the three convents of Narbonne, Béziers, and Carcassonne, with the further indulgence that the prelates assigned to them should be always *personae gratae.*[38] The experiment proved a signal failure. Alexander died a few months after his grant, and dur-

[36] *Hist. Trib.,* 65b, 66a. Lea thinks that the *Exivi* as it stands may be modified from its original tenor. He reminds us that the Canons of Clement V were delayed for revision and finally published by John XXII in 1317. "That they underwent changes in this process is more than probable", says Lea, *Hist. Inq. of the Middle Ages,* III, 60.

[37] Wadding, *ad ann.* 1312, no. 5.

[38] "Volo, inquit [Alexander], quod vobis dentur prelati, non displicibiles." Deposition of a brother of Narbonne. *A. L. K. G.,* III, 159.

ing the long vacancy in the generalate (which coincided with the two years' vacancy in the papacy after Clement V's death) the convents at Narbonne and Béziers became rallying-places for malcontents. Wadding has a lively passage on the situation: "The chair of Saint Peter and the headship of the order of the Minorites being vacant for a long time, those brothers of the stricter observance whom a little while before Clement had brought back to the bosom of the order separated from their brothers with rash impatience, and one hundred and twenty of them, with the help of certain lay friends (Beghines) in Provence, ejected the prelates from the convents of Narbonne and Béziers. They were joined by many of the Franciscans of the stricter observance from other provinces.[39] The citizens of Narbonne and Béziers supported them zealously, on account of their devotion to the memory of Petrus Johannis Olivi."[40]

The interregnum in the order and the papacy was brought to an end in 1316 by the election of two men of uncompromising severity of character, Michael of Cesena and Pope John XXII. Both were determined, in their respective offices, to recover the authority which had been impaired by the long vacancy. Michael addressed the pope immediately on the subject of restoring unity in the order. He sent Raymond of Fronciacho (the author of the *Index*) and Bonagratia of Bergamo (the prosecutor at Vienne) to meet John

[39] In an earlier paragraph Wadding speaks of the survivors of the dreadful persecution of the Italian Spirituals by Boniface VIII and John of Murro, who had fled to France to appeal to the pope. "Mox adhaeserunt aliis fratribus in regione Provincie quos viderunt sui zeli participes et a communitate ordinis recessisse." *Ad ann.* 1307, no. 4.

[40] Wadding, *ad ann.* 1314, no. 8.

XXII in consistory and to lay before him five petitions: first, that the Fraticelli be punished; second, that the brothers who had fled to Sicily [41] be reduced to obedience; third, that Ubertino da Casale be imprisoned; fourth, that all appeals to the order be forbidden; and fifth, that the Beghines be forbidden to assume the garb of the order and preach their heresies under cover of the Franciscan name.[42] The petition thus called for the correction of the Spirituals and their allies throughout the whole zone of disturbance from Provence to Sicily. It was the word of a man who intended to finish with rebellion once for all. Angelo da Clarino, who was one of the brothers summoned to Avignon as a result of this petition, and whose *Historia septem Tribulacionum,* consequently, becomes again at this point a source of the first value, informs us that the petition was made up almost entirely of lies and slanders, and that "the supreme pontiff shuddered at the grievous evils, crimes, and heresies which the community set down to the account of the zealots".[43]

John XXII's response to the petition was immediate and cordial. He ordered King Frederick of Sicily to apprehend the fugitives in his kingdom, and commissioned Bertrand of Tours, provincial minister of Aquitaine, to force the rebellious brothers of Narbonne and Béziers to conformity and obedience.[44] When the Provençal zealots refused to obey Bertrand's orders, and presented to the pope a petition signed by forty mem-

[41] See chapter IV for the details concerning these brothers.

[42] *Index* of Raymond of Fronciacho, part IV, ch. 7. *A. L. K. G.*, III, 27.

[43] *Hist. Trib.*, fol. 67a.

[44] A full account in Wadding (*ad ann.* 1317, nos. 9-14) who, besides Angelo's source, had important papal documents from the rich archives of Avignon.

bers, John summoned them to Avignon within ten days, on pain of excommunication.[45] "About the Feast of Pentecost", says Angelo, "sixty-four[46] brothers from the convents of Narbonne and Béziers came to the supreme pontiff. They did not turn in at the Franciscan convent, but, entering the town of Avignon, marched directly to the papal palace and stood all night before the doors, refusing to depart until the pontiff gave them audience". One of their number, Bernard Délicieux, a man of great modesty, astonishing learning, and irresistible eloquence, set forth their case before the pontiff and his cardinals in such circumspect and persuasive speech that his adversaries despaired of replying. It soon became evident to the zealots that their case was prejudged, and that they had been summoned not to be heard in defence but to receive their sentence. Bernard and those who attempted to follow him were silenced on one flimsy pretext or another.[47] Gaufridus de Cornone was the victim of an especially shameless piece of bullying by the pope. John was anxious to keep this eloquent saint from talking and, just as the latter was about to begin, interrupted him with the irrelevant remark, "Brother Gaufridus, I wonder that you clamor for the strict observance of the Rule, when you own five gowns yourself".

Gaufridus: "Holy Father, you are deceived; it is not true that I own five gowns, saving your reverence."

[45] *Index* of Raymond of Fronciacho, part IV, ch. 16. Letter of citation in Wadding, *ad ann.* 1317, no. 11.

[46] Lea, *loc. cit.*, III, 70, says, "They set forth seventy-four in number", but the *Hist. Trib.* says "sexaginta quattuor".

[47] *Hist. Trib.*, fol. 68a. It is amusing to contrast with Angelo's laudation the description of Bernard in the *Index* of Raymond of Fronciacho. There he appears as a braggart and blasphemer who had been in jail three times and deserves to be there still. Part IV, ch. 18. *A. L. K. G.*, III, 29.

John XXII: "Then we lie, do we?"

Gaufridus: "Holy Father, I did not say, nor would I say that you lie; but I did and do say that I do not own five gowns."

John XXII: "We order you to be arrested, till we see whether it be true or not that you own five gowns."

No wonder that the rest of the deputation despaired of further audience and fell on their knees before the pontiff crying, "Justice, Holy Father, justice!"[48] Their cry fell on deaf ears. The leaders were committed to prison, the rest remanded to their convents, there to wait, under strict oversight of their superiors, until the pope deliberated further what to do with them. In a few days he ordered them to be subjected to an examination on the basis of his Constitution *Quorundam exegit caecitas* (April 13, 1317), which confirmed to the general of the order absolute jurisdiction on the points of garments and granaries. Twenty-five brothers failed to satisfy the examiners, and were turned over to the inquisitors at Marseilles. Four continued "hardened" in the presence of the inquisitors, and were handed over to the secular arm. They were burned at the stake in Marseilles, May 7, 1318.[49] By the same inquisitorial sentence, it was forbidden on pain of excommunication to defend or countenance the errors of the Spirituals, or to have in one's possession any of the works of Olivi.[50]

The fires kindled at Marseilles were a signal for the extermination of the Spiritualists throughout Provence. We hear of burnings at Narbonne, Montpellier,

[48] *Hist. Trib.*, fol. 69a.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Index* of Raymond of Fronciacho, part IV, ch. 24. *A. L. K. G.*, III, 30.

Toulouse, Lunel, Lodvère, Carcassonne, Cabestaing, Béziers, Montréal. Mosheim tells us of a band of a hundred and thirteen Spirituals sacrificed at Carcassonne from 1318 to 1350.[51] Wadding tells us that the Franciscan inquisitors alone burned one hundred and fourteen of the zealots in a single year (1323).[52] And Angelo compares the indiscriminate frenzy of the persecutors to the fierceness of rabid dogs and wolves.[53] The works of Olivi were condemned at the Pentecostal chapter of 1319 at Marseilles, and even the bones of many saints who had died uncondemned (though suspected), were cast out of their tombs.[54] The result of the fierce persecutions was to stamp out the Spirituals in Provence. A few of the most radical of the party were driven into violent but unavailing schism. They revived the wildest interpretation of the writings of Joachim of Flora, and revelled in vaticinations of the fall of the carnal Church. John XXII, for the promulgation of the *Quorundam exegit,* became the Antichrist of the Apocalypse. The martyrs of Marseilles were honored by a special cult. Saint Francis was to

[51] Mosheim, *De Beghardis et Beguinabus,* 1790, p. 499.

[52] Wadding, *ad ann.* 1317, no. 45.

[53] "Et ancusabant simpliciter gradientis pro maliciosis et oboedientes pro inoboedientibus et fideles et catholicos pro infidelibus et schismaticis ymitantes canes et luppos rabidos, qui in rabiem conversi nihil aliud quam mordere appetunt et absque timore bestias et homines indifferenter invadunt." *Hist. Trib.,* fol. 70b. That the Beghines were confused with the Third Order of St. Francis, much to the detriment of the Franciscans, is shown by an examination of the *Lib. Sent. Inq. Tolos.* and Bernard of Gui's *Practica,* part V. Bernard in his *Flores Chronicorum* even says that the Beghines took their rise from Olivi's "Postil on the Apocalypse" (quoted by Ehrle in *A. L. K. G.,* III, 456). The name Beghine seems to have been definitely fastened upon the suspected Franciscans at the provincial Council of Béziers in 1299. Mansi, *Hist. Conc.,* XXIV, 1216. Compare Tocco's opinion: "I Beguini non erano se non terziarii francescani". *L'Eresia nel Medio Evo,* p. 355.

[54] *Hist. Trib.,* fol. 69a.

return in the flesh and preside over the "holy" Church in the third and perfect age. Olivi's writings were interpolated with passages from the prophecies of Joachim. Olivi himself was celebrated as the Enoch of the Third Age, the second Saint Paul, and even endowed with all the graces of the human Christ.[55] A highly colored legendary account of Olivi's death, the *Transitus Sancti Patris,* was made the hand-book of the party. They despised their brother Spirituals in Italy as cowardly opportunists,[56] and predicted the speedy extinction of all sects but their own. They were the true Church, destined to endure to the end of the world.[57] In this extravagant sect the unreconciled Spirituals of Provence lost their social significance, and sank into oblivion.

[55] See the trial of the "prophetess" Naprous Boneta, in Lea, III, 82.

[56] At the time of the separation of the brothers of the March (1294), it had been the Provençal Spirituals who were the "moderates". Olivi wrote in 1295 to Conrad of Offida, reprimanding the Italian group for denying the legitimacy of Boniface VIII's accession to the papacy.

[57] *Lib. Sent. Inq. Tolos.,* pp. 303, 305, 307, 310, 330.

CHAPTER IV.

The Tuscan Spirituals.

While the great debate over the correction of abuses in the order was raging between Ubertino and Bonagratia in the presence of Clement V and the prelates attending the Council of Vienne, "the brothers of Tuscany, seeing clearly the hatred of the Community against them, and knowing well that their own destruction was aimed at, took counsel with a certain holy and wise man named Martin, canon-regular of Siena, and decided upon flight. This brother Martin, hearing and to some extent seeing with his own eyes how violent the conduct of the Community was, said to the zealots, whose holy walk and conduct he had observed, 'Brothers, believe me, your enemies will drive you out of your convents. For they do not obey the authority of the Church, but flout it. If you were but three in number, you could still elect a general; and I am ready to prove in the presence of the pope and all the cardinals that your secession from the Community is a sacred right, and that the election which you make is canonical and just.' The zealots had confidence in the advice of this wise man (who was, to be sure, ignorant of the effect of the course which he advised), and chose a general and other officers for themselves according to the Rule of Saint Francis—a proceeding which brought obloquy on them and on all their associates. Then the supreme pontiff and all the cardinals, even those who

favored the earlier proposal,[1] were greatly shocked, and were easily persuaded to believe all the evil reports circulated about the Spirituals. And although the latter sent an epistle to Clement V just before his death, protesting that they were ready to obey him as dutiful children and to endure his correction, the letter never reached the pontiff, because the friends to whom it was entrusted did not dare to present it. The Tuscan zealots likewise sent messengers to Pope John XXII on the same errand, but the messengers were seized and imprisoned by the Community and the message never reached its goal." [2]

The foregoing passage, inserted by Angelo da Clarino in his inadequate account of the proceedings of the Council of Vienne, is almost all we know of the little group of Tuscan zealots, who impatiently broke away from the Community and fled to Sicily in the years 1312-1314. Wadding tells us that a certain Jacobus da Tundo of Siena is his source for the knowledge of the Tuscan Spirituals,[3] but, as no chronicler bearing such a name has been discovered, we are not much helped by the information. There is more suggestion in a few scattered notices in the writings of Ubertino da Casale, Angelo da Clarino, and Raymond of Fronciacho. Ubertino was doubtless the leader of the group of Tuscan Spirituals;[4] and had he not been temporarily absent, fighting their cause before the tribunal of Clement V, the revolt of 1312 would probably never have taken

[1] This proposal (*negotium*) was the request of Ubertino that the Spirituals might be allowed to separate peacefully from the Community since reconciliation seemed hopeless. Clement's decision came in the summer of 1313 (see p. 42, above, n. 38).

[2] *Hist. Trib.*, fol. 65a, 1.

[3] Wadding, *ad ann.* 1307, no. 4.

[4] "Hic frater Ubertinus habitans in monte Alvernae provincie Tuscie."

place. Ubertino tells us in his reply to the charges of Bonagratia against Olivi's doctrines, how sorely the Brothers Minor in Tuscany had betrayed the ideal of Saint Francis. They had full cellars and granaries. They had amassed wealth and put it out at usury. They had even added dishonesty to avarice.[5] The provocation of the zealots to revolt from such disloyal followers of Saint Francis was heightened by the persecution which they had to endure from hostile prelates. In a letter of Angelo da Clarino, written from Avignon (1313) to his brother Spirituals in Italy, the hope is expressed that Pope Clement will be pleased to treat the prelates of Tuscany who are persecuting the Spirituals beyond endurance as he treated Bonagratia of Bergamo for the same offence in Provence.[6] From Raymond of Fronciacho we learn the names of the convents in which the Tuscan revolt took place: Carmignano (near Florence), Arezzo, and Ascanio (near Siena). Raymond, who we must remember was a determined foe of the Spirituals, says that the latter drove the Minorites of the Community out of their convents by sheer force. When overcome in arms, some of the Spirituals took refuge in private houses that were opened to them, while others (forty-nine in number)

[5] "Item pecunia nomine oblacionis in pluribus locis provincie s. Francisci et aliquibus Tuscie recipitur et diversae fraudes fiunt in missis novis" . . . quoted by Ehrle, *A. L. K. G.*, III, 68.

[6] "Iam enim fratrem Bonagratiam adjudicavit perpetuo carceri et omnes prelatos de provincia Provincie tanquam excommunicatos citavit, et speramus quod similiter faciet de prelatis Tuscie qui non cessant in contemptum Dei et ecclesie sanctos fratres . . . vexare." MS. Strozziana (Florence), 63b. This manuscript containing the letter just quoted and the *Epistola Excusatoria* (see p. 15, above) was discovered by the Bollandist Papebroch in the manuscript collection of Senator Strozzi of Florence in 1660, and is now in the National Library of the same city. It is described and (in part) printed for the first time by Ehrle in *A. L. K. G.*, I, 509-570.

fled to Sicily, where King Frederick received them kindly. Clement V warned the rebels in two letters to desist from their schism, and when warning proved vain he commissioned the Archbishop of Genoa and the Bishops of Lucca and Bologna to suppress the recalcitrants. The Inquisition was established against them, and a second detachment took refuge in Sicily, where we hear of their organization by Henry of Ceva, a refugee from Boniface VIII's persecution. Forthwith a letter was dispatched from Avignon, signed by several cardinals, to the prelates of Sicily, warning them to crush out the schism by all means possible. John XXII followed the matter up, immediately after his election, by a letter to King Frederick in the same style.[7] The formal and public condemnation of the Tuscan schismatics followed in the bull *Gloriosam ecclesiam non habentem maculam nec rugam* (January 23, 1318).[8]

In point of numbers and of subsequent influence this movement of the Tuscan Spirituals is not of particular consequence. It is significant chiefly for the rapidity with which the breach with the order was consummated. It gives us a singularly clear picture of the irreconcilable status and claims of the Community on the one hand and the Spirituals on the other. Furthermore, it is interesting as a most decisive step in the organization of the *Fraticelli.*

Perhaps no other term in the whole vocabulary of medieval heresiology has been so loosely used as the word "Fraticelli". Lea in his *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (III, 158), speaking of the

[7] March 15, 1317. Published in Wadding *ad ann.* 1317, no. 9. (P. 44, above, n. 44.)

[8] *Index* of Raymond of Fronciacho, part V entire. *A. L. K. G.*, III, 30-31.

zealots in Germany, says: "Though we occasionally hear of Fraticelli in these regions, it is rather as a convenient name employed by monkish chroniclers than as really representing a distinctive sect". It is not the monkish chroniclers alone, however, that have sinned against clearness of definition in respect to the Fraticelli. Among modern writers on medieval history it is difficult to find one that is at pains to define the sect clearly. Gieseler applies the name to the Spirituals who were driven out of the convents of Narbonne and Béziers by John XXII in 1317.[9] Riezler also uses the name for the Spirituals of Provence, with the additional information that Henry of Ceva was their leader![10] Carl Schmidt in the article "Fraticelli" in the *Realencyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie* employs the term indiscriminately for the group of Angelo in Italy, the evicted brothers of the convents of Provence, and the Beghines persecuted by the Inquisition of Toulouse. He says, further, that the sect vanished before the middle of the fourteenth century. Finally, even Lea himself is far from explicit in his use of the word. In his chapter entitled "The Fraticelli",[11] he treats of the schismatic Franciscans of the Community who, under Michael of Cesena and Bonagratia, joined forces with Lewis of Bavaria against John XXII;[12] of the "remains of the moderate Spiritualists of Italy who had never indulged in the dangerous enthusiasm of the Olivists, but were willing to suffer martyrdom in defence of the sacred principles of poverty" (p. 144); of the group under Henry of

[9] *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, II, 3, p. 206.

[10] *Die literarischen Widersacher der Päpste zur Zeit Ludwigs des Bayers*, p. 62.

[11] *Hist. Inq. of the Middle Ages*, III, 129-180.

[12] See chapter V.

Ceva in Sicily, "which, when John XXII triumphed over the order, gathered in its recalcitrant factions and constituted a sect whose strange persistence under the fiercest persecution we shall have to follow for a century and a half" (*ib.*; compare Schmidt's statement above); of the Ghibelline heretics of Todi, and the Bavarian's anti-pope; of the sectarians in Languedoc and Provence, whose suppression was facilitated by the "rigorous severity with which the Spirituals had been exterminated" (p. 167); of heretics of the March of Ancona awaiting extirpation even in the middle of the fifteenth century (p. 175); and of the Observantine movement,[13] which "may be credited with the destruction of the Fraticelli, not so much by furnishing the men and the zeal required for their violent suppression as by supplying an organization in which their ascetic longings could be safely gratified" (p. 179). Thus all of the dissatisfied Franciscans, in all of their vicissitudes, religious and political, from the beginning of the fourteenth century down, are grouped under the title "The Fraticelli".

In fact, the clear demarcation of any of the mystic anti-hierarchical, popular sects of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is practically impossible. Europe from the North Sea to the Mediterranean simply swarmed with them. There were Reclusi, Murati, Humiliati, Beghines, Beghards, Apostolic Brethren, Brothers of the Free Spirit, Brothers and Sisters of the Order of the Militia of Christ and the Blessed Virgin, Brothers and Sisters of Penitence, Continentes, Tertiarii, etc., etc. The Lateran Council of 1215 had forbidden the creation of new religious orders, and this astounding multiplication of lay brotherhoods was the

[13] See above, p. 28, nn. 26-30.

response. Then the Council of Lyons (1274) attempted to check these brotherhoods,[14] but to no purpose; they increased toward the close of the thirteenth century faster than ever. Composed as they were almost entirely of men and women from the humbler walks of life,[15] with no education themselves and with a hearty hatred of learning as one of the chief temptations to pride and worldliness;[16] without official recognition, except as they joined themselves to one of the approved orders, like the Humiliati or the Tertiarii of Saint Francis or Saint Dominic,[17] is was obviously impossible for them to leave much material for the chronicler and the historian. We have to get such distinctive impressions as we can from the official documents of the curia and from the inquisitorial processes.[18] Moreover, an unfortunate quarrel between the Franciscan and Dominican chroniclers of the first half of the seventeenth century did much to obscure the origin and character of the Fraticelli. Abram Bzovius, the Dominican continuator of Baronius's *Annales,* accused the Spiritual Franciscans of hatching the heretical sect

[14] Conc. Lugdun., c. 23. Mansi, XXIV, 96.

[15] Alvarus Pelagius, *De Planctu Ecclesie,* II, 5, says that they were "porcarii, pecorarii, armentarii, caementarii, carbonarii [compare the Carbonari of the nineteenth century], fabriferarii", and the like, who left their workshops, "mutato habitu sed non corde".

[16] An amusing account of the trial of one of these "half-monks of the Middle Ages" is incorporated in a manuscript entitled "A Tractate against Beguines and Beghards", published by Haupt in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* XII, 86. The speaker is the inquisitor: "Quaesavi eum sive cognoverit Domini orationem. Primum sorrisit, demum, me gravius instante ut diceret, extensis manibus et elevatis oculis ad celum clamavit: 'Ach Gott, mein Gott, wie hast mich verlassen!' et penitus non novit principium nec finem."

[17] Alvarus Pelagius (*loc. cit.*) speaks of them as "sicut passeres insolenter de monte in montem transmigrantes"; and Matthew Paris (*ad ann.* 1244), says, "sub nullius sancti regula coarctati nec adhuc ullo claustro contenti".

[18] See Ehrle's diligent collection in *A. L. K. G.,* IV, 64-138.

which caused the Catholic inquisitors a century and a half of labor to extirpate. The Irish Franciscan of the stricter observance, Hiquey, felt called upon to defend his order, and especially his branch of the order, in a work entitled *Nitela Religionis Franciscanae.* Wadding was compiling his *Annales Minorum,* our standard chronicle of the order, at the time. He was a fellow-countryman of Hiquey's, and also a brother of the stricter observance of the Rule of Saint Francis. He entered the controversy, and instead of scientifically investigating who the Fraticelli were (as he might have done with the material at his disposal), he bent all his efforts to prove that the sect never had any connection with the Franciscans, but arose in Germany.[19] Instead of accepting the historian's duty of impartial analysis, Wadding here yielded to the temptation of selecting his material as a partisan. He arbitrarily groups the Fraticelli with the pseudo-Apostolics, the Brothers of the Poor Life, the Beghines and Beghards, as "practically one sect, obtaining its different names either from various restorers or from the difference in popular nomenclature".[20] Wadding's deservedly great authority has caused his theory concerning the Fraticelli to be received by scholars even to the present day.[21] But Ehrle, in a fine study of the Fraticelli,[22] has collected all the papal documents and inquisitorial records relating to the Fraticelli, and proved beyond a doubt that

[19] Wadding, *ad ann.* 1317, nos. 23-44.

[20] Wadding, *ad ann.* 1317, no. 42: "Potiori opera et maiore studio potuissem hic ostendere [Why didn't he?] in unam sectam coaluisse pseudo-apostolos, Fraticellos", etc. Cf. *ad ann.* 1297, no. 30: "diversaque nomina sortitos vel ex diversis restauratoribus aut populi nomenclatura".

[21] For example, Panfilo da Magliano, *Storia di S. Francesco,* 1876; and Loofs in *Theologische Literaturzeitung,* 1887.

[22] *A. L. K. G.,* IV, 64-180.

we have in them a sect of purely Italian origin, traceable to the Franciscan Spirituals. It would be beyond our purpose to discuss Ehrle's article at length. The points which he makes and ably defends are as follows:

1. The oldest document in which the word "Fraticelli" occurs (John XXII's *Sancta Romana* of December 30, 1317) applies the term to the group of Spirituals led by Liberato and Angelo da Clarino[23] (see chapter II, above).

2. The name is not used of all the schismatic followers of Michael of Cesena (see below, chapter V), but only of such of them as came out of the Spiritual party.

3. The name is never used in the sources to designate the Spirituals of Provence who broke away from obedience to the order in 1317.[24]

4. Neither Segarelli nor Dolcino nor their successors, the Apostolic Brothers, can be called Fraticelli.[25]

5. Besides the followers of Liberato and Angelo, the members of the Tuscan group of Spirituals also are called Fraticelli.

Now it is only in this last point that Ehrle seems to me not to have maintained the thoroughness and critical

[23] Raymond of Fronciacho, *Index. A. L. K. G.*, III, 32. *Hist. Trib.*, fol. 67a. Tocco, *Bollettino di Storia degli Abruzzi*, 1895, p. 15: "I Fraticelli o poveri Eremiti di Celestino V".

[24] *Lib. Sent. Inq. Tolos.*, ed. Limborch, p. 326.

[25] Angelo's fierce outburst of wrath against these Apostolics (*Hist. Trib.*, fol. 60b) would be in itself sufficient to prove that they cannot be classed in the same company with his followers. The language he applies to them, as well as the reputed prophecy of St. Francis, that these Apostles of Satan would arise, precludes the possibility of their having their origin in the order. There were, to be sure, many points of contact between these Apostolics and the Fraticelli, such as Joachitic dreams, laudations of poverty, anti-hierarchical tendencies; but, for all that, the Fraticelli differed sharply from the Apostolic Brothers in holding to the Rule of St. Francis, in confining their hostility to Rome to the pontificate of John XXII only, and in much better organization.

acumen of the rest of his article. He does not give the Tuscan Spirituals any particular prominence in the development of the Fraticelli as a sect; whereas it seems to me clear that they were practically the originators of the sect. I say "of the sect", because the term "Fraticelli" was not originally a term of opprobrium applied by the Church or the order to heretics or schismatics, but a popular appellation, almost a term of endearment—"the Little Brothers". It was the name given to the followers of Saint Francis who wore the scant tunic and begged their bread from door to door, like the early brothers of the order; and, furthermore, no designation of his followers could have been more after Saint Francis' own heart than just the word "Fraticelli". When the word is first used by the pope, however, in a formal bull of condemnation (*Sancta Romana,* 1317) it signifies rebels and heretics. John XXII in a letter to Charles, Duke of Calabria (March 7, 1317) acknowledged that he got the term "Fraticelli" from popular usage.[26]

The bull *Sancta Romana* was published just after the dramatic negotiations of the curia with the rebellious brothers of Provence.[27] Its purpose was to chastise in a body the sectaries who were breaking away from obedience to the order. Now the Tuscan brothers had been the leaders of the defection. It was their rash deed of 1312 that made the innocent name of "Fraticelli" a hissing at the court of Avignon. It even seems to me that Ehrle's chosen quotation to prove that the Fraticelli were originally Angelo and his group better suits the interpretation that refers the word to the

[26] "Nonnulli prophani qui fraticelli vulgariter nuncupantur." *A. L. K. G.*, IV, 65.

[27] See p. 46, above, n. 48.

Tuscans. It is a sentence from the invaluable *Index* of Raymond of Fronciacho, which we have had occasion to notice so often: "VIII° capitulo ponitur alia lictera eiusdem domini nostri papae [John XXII] per quam dampnat et cassat statum et sectam Angeli et Liberati eorumque complicum fraticellorum et omnium Bizochorum, et incipit Sancta romana". (Part V, ch. 8.) Commenting on this passage, Ehrle says: "Ich glaube dass diese Stelle bedarf keine Erklärung; die *Fraticelli* sind nach ihr die Anhänger (*complices*) Angelo's und Liberato's."[28] But does not the word *complices* mean "confederates" rather than "followers"; and would it not better designate an allied group like the Tuscans? In that case the word "fraticellorum" would be in apposition with "complicum" only, and not with the phrase "Angeli . . . complicum"; and we should have the two groups of "the sect of Angelo and Liberato" on the one hand, and "their confederates the Fraticelli (the Tuscan rebels)" on the other.

The term "Fraticelli", once adopted by the Church as a term of opprobrium, soon lost its original popular meaning of the "Little Brothers", and was used quite indiscriminately for "rebels". Italian heretics were persecuted for contempt of the hierarchy under the name of "Fraticelli", down beyond the middle of the fifteenth century. It was the lot of the little company of Tuscan Spirituals who broke away from the authority of the order, then, according to our interpretation of the documents, to bring the name of "Fraticelli" into reproach with Rome, and to give the signal for a century and a half of bitter persecution.[29]

[28] *A. L. K. G.*, IV, 140.

[29] Wadding, *ad ann.* 1334, no. 1; 1335, no. 10; 1354, no. 1; 1374, no. 22. Cf. *ad ann.* 1368, no. 4: "Nullis artibus comprimi . . . potuit in Italia Fraticellorum contagio."

CHAPTER V.

The Michaelists.

The episode of the struggle between John XXII and the heads of the Franciscan party over the doctrine of the poverty of Christ and the Apostles is not, strictly speaking, a part of the history of the Spiritual Franciscans. In that struggle the Minorites were divided on a different line from that which marked the boundary between the Community and the zealots. Men of each of these parties were on Michael's side against the pope. Nevertheless, for two reasons it seems desirable to speak of the Michaelists in concluding our sketch of the Spiritual Franciscans. In the first place, many of the Spirituals (at least of the Fraticelli)[1] were enlisted in the battle, not that they loved Michael more, but that they loved John less, and saw here a chance to be avenged on him for the persecutions he had set on foot against them. In the second place, this struggle over the poverty of Christ developed into a political struggle when Michael, William of Ockham, and Bonagratia fled from Avignon to join Lewis of Bavaria; and it therefore shows the Fraticelli in the new rôle of political demagogues.

There seems not the slightest cause for the bitter fight over the dogma of poverty, beyond John XXII's pugnacious and domineering spirit.[2] It looks as if the

[1] Collection of documents in Nicolaus Minorita, ed. Baluzius-Mansi, III, 2065.

[2] Villani the historian describes John XXII as, "virtute invictus, facilis irae, propositi tenax, in cibo temperatus, iuris utriusque valde peritus".

Dominicans used him as a tool to work their spite against the Franciscans. During the trial of a Spiritual at Narbonne in 1321 the Dominican inquisitor invited a Franciscan teacher of the convent of Narbonne, one Bérengar Talon, to give an opinion on the orthodoxy of the defendant's statement that Christ and the Apostles had no property, either individually or collectively. Bérengar replied that the statement was orthodox, sanctioned as a tenet of the order by Nicholas III's bull of 1279, *Exiit qui seminat*. Therefore the inquisitor accused Bérengar of heresy and ordered him to recant. When Bérengar refused to budge from the doctrine of the order, and started for Avignon to appeal to the pope, the Dominican was before him, and was not disappointed in his hope that John's recent experiences with recalcitrant Minorites would influence him to take sides against Bérengar. The pope, who should have recognized the validity of Bérengar's position and forbidden the inquisitor to meddle with his Franciscan neighbors, was foolish enough to foster the quarrel by pompously reserving to himself the decision of the case. The tyrant is generally a pedant too. In the bull *Quia nonnunquam* (March 26, 1322), he suspended Nicholas III's *Exiit qui seminat*. This was a slap at the Franciscan order, and was promptly resented. The chapter-general of Perugia (May, 1322), without waiting for John's final word in the case, published a decree in which it declared that the doctrine of the poverty of Christ and the Apostles was orthodox, and was even approved by John's own bull *Quorundam exegit* (1317). John was furious. In the bull *Ad conditorem* (December 8, 1322) he gratified both his tyranny and his pedantry to the last degree. He revoked the Minorites' privilege, granted seventy-seven years before by

Innocent IV, of holding property in the name of the Roman See, exposing the flimsiness of his pretext in long chains of logic. The next year (November 12, 1323), in the bull *Cum inter nonnullos,* John formally decided the question of Christ's poverty in the negative. The action of the chapter of Perugia was condemned, and henceforth the maintenance of the doctrine of the poverty of Christ and his Apostles was declared to be a heresy. The battle between the dictator-pope and the order of Saint Francis was fairly joined.

The folly of John XXII's presumptuous behavior toward the strong order of Saint Francis appears doubly great when we remember the political conditions of the time. Only two months before the promulgation of the bull *Ad conditorem* the most important battle of the fourteenth century had been fought at Mühldorf. There Lewis the Bavarian was victorious over his rival for the imperial crown, Frederick of Austria, the ally of the King of Naples and the pope. In the victorious Lewis the pope had an antagonist against whom he needed all the allies he could muster. At this critical moment he was foolish enough to alienate the Franciscans by his piece of petty, revengeful pedantry. Lewis the Bavarian, who cared as little for the doctrine of the poverty of Christ as he did for the Grand Turk, was shrewd enough to enlist the disaffected Minorites in his cause at once. The " Protest of Sachsenhausen ",[3] by which he replied to the pope's sentence of excommunication, contains a long excursus from the pen of a Franciscan writer (or writers), in which John is declared to have " risen against the Lord Jesus, his Mother, and the Apostles, and attempted to

[3] Karl Müller, *Der Kampf Ludwigs des Bayern mit der römischen Curie,* Tübingen, 1879, I, 180.

destroy the evangelical doctrine of perfect poverty, the beacon of our faith". The seraphic Francis, the document continues, was sealed with the stigmata, and his Rule was thus confirmed beyond the power of any "leaden seal" to disturb.[4]

It has been recognized for centuries that the Minorites had a hand in the protest of Sachsenhausen, but just whose hand it was still remains unknown. Riezler believes that it was Ubertino da Casale;[5] and in fact we have in Ubertino's writings the simile of the stigmata and the seal.[6] Still we learn from Raynaldus[7] that Ubertino was in Avignon until 1325; and the fact that John XXII treated him with consideration until that time, even requesting from him a written opinion on the dispute over the poverty of Christ,[8] argues against his being the author of the excursus. Marcour[9] thinks that the author was Henry of Thalheim, provincial of Upper Germany, who was one of the signers of the decree of Perugia, and who was deposed from his high office at Constance in 1323. Preger points to Franciscus de Lutra, a fugitive from Avignon, as the author, and is certain that the excursus is from the pen of a Spiritual.[10] This position Ehrle criticises as untenable,[11]

[4] *Ib.*, p. 81.

[5] Riezler, *Die literarischen Widersacher der Päpste zur Zeit Ludwigs des Bayers*, Leipzig, 1874, p. 73.

[6] Ubertino's reply to Bonagratia at Vienne: "quod regula a Christo data, quam bullavit bulla mirabili, volens institutionem ipsius in sanctae regulae testimonium paucis post eius confectionem diebus passionis suae stigmatibus insignire". *A. L. K. G.*, III, 87.

[7] *Annales Ecclesiasticae*, Rome, 1652, *ad ann.* 1325, no. 20.

[8] Baluzius-Mansi, II, 279.

[9] *Anteil der Minoriten am Kampfe zwischen K. Ludwig IV von Bayern und Papst Johann XXII*, 1874, p. 83.

[10] *Ueber die Anfänge des kirchenpolitischen Kampfes unter Ludwig dem Baiern*, in the *Abhandlungen* of the Munich Academy, Historical Class, XVI, 138 ff.

[11] *Olivi und die Sachsenhäuser Appellation*, *A. L. K. G.*, III, 540.

and shows by quotations from Michael of Cesena's tracts that the language used in the excursus could have been employed by a Franciscan of the Community as well as by a Spiritual. Karl Müller, in his exhaustive work quoted above on the contest between the Bavarian and the pope, found the original of a short piece of the excursus in a tract of Bonagratia of Bergamo;[12] and Ehrle, in the article just cited, has shown that a much larger section of the excursus is taken from the eighth *Quaestio* of Olivi. Other parts of the excursus may be traced to Franciscan documents, but there is little prospect of finding who was the author of the whole.[13]

Lewis followed up his victory at Mühldorf with bold aggressiveness. He put into effect the doctrine of imperial independence announced in the Protests of Nürnberg and Sachsenhausen by marching to Rome in 1327, electing an antipope, and receiving at his hands the imperial crown of Charles the Great. Lewis' antipope, Nicholas V, was the Franciscan friar Peter of Corbario.

The heads of the order, meanwhile, were in virtual imprisonment at Avignon. Their position was becoming precarious in the extreme. The Bavarian's headlong course was involving the order deeper and deeper in the sin of rebellion. John XXII met the crisis with resolute severity. In 1325 Ubertino da Casale was summoned for trial. He fled to Lewis. In 1326 the writings of Olivi were again subjected to censorship and the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* was ordered to be burned. In 1328 John detained the minister-general, Michael of Cesena, in Avignon, while he sent his

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

[13] Glassberger's *Cronica* (1508): "Hoc tempore composita fuit quaedam scriptura de qua habebantur suspecti fratres minores, quam attribuebant duci Bavariae Ludovico." *Anal. Francisc.*, II, 148.

own legate to the chapter of Franciscans assembled at Bologna to prevent the reëlection of Michael to the generalate. But the chapter defied the pope and elected Michael. John summoned the general to his presence, but the latter, following the example of Ubertino da Casale, fled from Avignon to join Lewis of Bavaria. With him went Bonagratia of Bergamo and the famous scholastic William of Ockham. John immediately assembled a "packed" chapter of the order at Paris, in which Michael was deposed from his office and Gerhard Odo, a submissive creature of the pope, was elected in his stead (1329).

Michael's open rebellion against the pope, which was probably necessary to save him from disgrace and imprisonment, was too bold a step for the order at large to sanction. The same man who had been supported enthusiastically by the chapter of Bologna in May found himself an exile and an outcast in July. The Minorites could not be sponsors for Lewis' extreme measures. The time was three centuries past when a Holy Roman Emperor could march to Rome to make and unmake popes. Although the Bavarian's antipope was a Franciscan, nevertheless only *four* brothers of the order would endorse the emperor's presence and purpose in Rome.[14] In the Ghibelline towns Lewis's progress occasioned some revival of the enthusiasm with which Dante had hailed Henry of Luxembourg twenty years before; and we find records of inquisitorial action against "fratres rebelles, pseudo-fratres Minores, sequaces Michaelis, fautores sectae Michaelis", in Todi, Amelia, the Pennine province, and other parts of Italy.[15] But the Minorites had ceased to be of any use

[14] Martène, *Amplissima Collectio*, II, 763.
[15] Ehrle, *A. L. K. G.*, IV, 150.

to Lewis, when the dogma of the poverty of Christ could not be used to further the cause of German independence. Lewis protected his old allies, the self-exiled fugitives of the Minorites, in a Franciscan convent in Munich, where Bonagratia, Michael, and Ockham with a few followers maintained defiance to the pope to the last.[16]

John XXII died in 1334, and with his death the personal element of the quarrel between the papacy and the Franciscans was gone. "Nicholas V" had already made his peace with Avignon four years before John's death, repenting his insolent blasphemy in sackcloth and ashes. In the succeeding decade most of the disaffected Minorites returned to their allegiance to the order. Pope Clement VI, in 1349, called on the General Farinerius to bring the last of the persecuted rebels to terms, but the general replied, "They are only a handful; let them die in peace". So the *Parfüsser* of Lewis the Bavarian died out—and, except for the persistent Fraticelli of Italy, the order had peace.

[16] Ockham even went so far, in the *Opus nonaginta Dierum*, as to appeal to a general council, and called the pope a heretic for refusing to summon the same. The idea was revived toward the close of the century by the Parisian theologians and eventuated in the great but futile councils of the fifteenth century.

CHAPTER VI.

Conclusion.

To sum up the results of our investigation, we find, from the very inception of the Franciscan order, two tendencies at work. One was the determination to make the order a potent influence on the age and a world-factor in history, by securing its close connection with the papacy, acquiring numerous convents, increasing membership as rapidly as possible, building fine churches, securing privileges and exemptions from the pope—in a word, by entering into competition with the established monastic orders. The other tendency was the equally strong determination to preserve the order from the corrupting influences of wealth and privilege, to keep the members true "Brothers Minor", imitators, not alone admirers, of Saint Francis.

The former tendency quite naturally soon gained the ascendancy; the more rapidly, as it had for its champion a man of tyrannical force of will and exceptional executive ability, Brother Elias of Cortona. Ineffectual protest or voluntary retirement to some hermitage was all that was left for the zealots.[1] They remained a protesting minority within the order, looking forward

[1] Wadding says of Brother Leo, head of the zealots, in Elias' time: "Successit fr. Leo ad eremitorium Fabriani in patientia et longanimitate, tempus redempturus quoniam dies mali erant, ab alto exspectans malorum remedium", *ad ann.* 1229, no. 2. Salimbene says of Elias: "Ministros provinciales ita tenebat sub baculo quod tremebant eum sicut iuncus tremit cum ab aqua concutitur". *Liber de Prelato,* II.

to the time of purification, when all the sons of Saint Francis should be holy; and at the same time losing that hold on their times which would have taught them that such a consummation as they hoped for was hopeless. Their only attempt at concerted action before the middle of the thirteenth century, so far as we know, was the deputation of the seventy-two brothers to the pope, in Crescentius' generalate. That was quickly broken up, and the brothers were scattered to the farthest provinces of the order.[2]

About the middle of the thirteenth century, however, we find forces at work which consolidated the protesting zealots into a party. Chief among the forces were: first, the election to the generalate of the zealot John of Parma; second, the appropriation of the prophetic writings of Joachim of Flora and their manipulation to suit the dawning apocalyptic hopes of the zealots; third, the attitude of John of Parma's successor Bonaventura, who immediately gave the champions of the stricter observance of the Rule to understand that no hint of hostility to the see of Rome or of an esoteric authority of the " companions " of Saint Francis would be tolerated.

After Bonaventura we mark an ever widening rupture between the fautors of the papal interpretations of the Rule of Saint Francis and the champions of its observance " to the letter ". The Council of Lyons of 1274 almost provoked a schism in Italy, and the persecutions to which the zealots were subjected led in 1294 to the actual separation from the order of a group of zealots of the March of Ancona, led by Liberato, Angelo da Clarino, and others (chapter II).

[2] See above, p. 8, n. 16.

The zealots of the March of Ancona had the sanction of Pope Celestin V in their withdrawal from the order, and by his permission took the name of "Poor Hermits of Celestin". But the Tuscan zealots, who broke away from the order in 1312 (chapter IV), had no such authority for their action. It was rebellion pure and simple; and it made the name of "Fraticelli", or "Little Brothers", by which the zealots of Italy were popularly called, a term of reproach and a synonym for "rebel" and "schismatic".

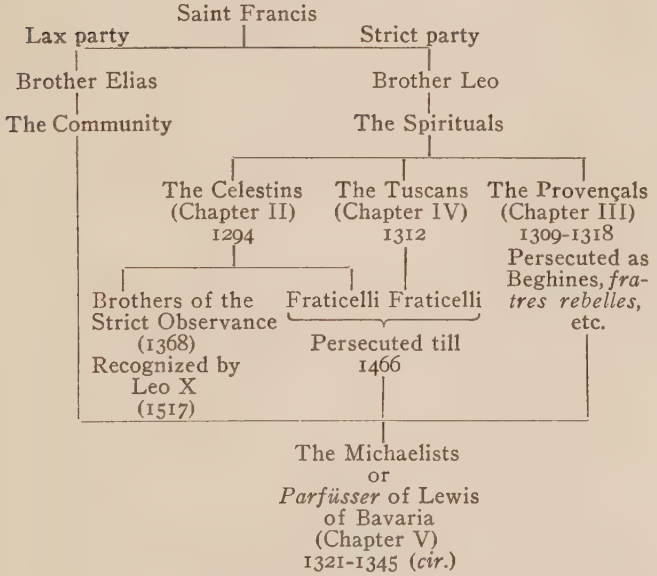
At the time of the secession of the Tuscan brothers, the case of the Spirituals versus the Community was being argued before Pope Clement V at Avignon. Clement's decision, embodied in the decree *Exivi de Paradiso,* was, on the whole, favorable to the party of the stricter observance, although it enjoined on them obedience to the officers of the order. In the long interregnum which followed, both in the generalate and in the papacy (1314-1316), the zealots of Provence were tempted (*sub specie declinandae persecutionis*) to expel the priors from the convents of Narbonne and Béziers, so declaring themselves independent of the discipline of the order. They were promptly punished by John XXII (1317-1318), and the Inquisition was set to work to crush out the last traces of insubordination in Provence (chapter III).

Meanwhile the Fraticelli were being hunted down in Italy. They gave the inquisitors trouble down to past the middle of the fifteenth century. The more moderate of the Italian zealots, who wished to follow the precepts of Saint Francis strictly and still neither quarrel with the order nor defy the pope, made several attempts during the fourteenth century to get convents granted

them in which they might lead their severe life unmolested by jealous brothers and untempted by worldly offices. They were finally successful under Paolo da' Trinci (1368). The Brothers of the Stricter Observance were formally separated from the Community in 1517, by Pope Leo X's bull *Ite et vos in vineam.*

APPENDIX I.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS.



APPENDIX II.

Generals of the Order and Roman Pontiffs 1200-1334 (from the Catalogue of Bernard of Bessa, *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, VII).

Date	General	Pope
1198		Innocent III
1216		Honorius III
1227	John Parenti	Gregory IX
1232	Elias of Cortona	
1240	Albert of Pisa (8 mos.)	
1241	Aymo of Fevesham	Celestin IV (18 days)
		(vacancy two years)
1243		Innocent IV
1244	Crescentius of Jesi	
1248	John of Parma	
1254		Alexander IV
1257	Bonaventura	
1261		Urban IV
1265		Clement IV
1268		(vacancy two years)
1270		Gregory X
1274	Hieronymus of Ascoli	
1276		Innocent IV (4 mos.)
		Hadrian V (2 mos.)
		John XXI (8 mos.)
1277		(vacancy six months)
1278		Nicholas III
1279	Bonagratia of Tielci	
1280		(vacancy six months)
1281		Martin IV
1284	Arlotto of Prato	
1285		Honorius IV
1287	Matthew of Aquasparta	(vacancy ten months)
1288		Nicholas IV
1289	Raymundus Gaufridi	
1292		(vacancy two years)
1294		Celestin V
1295	John of Murro	Boniface VIII
1303		Benedict XI
1304	Gonsalvus of Valboa	(vacancy eleven months)
1305		Clement V
1313	Alexander of Alexandria	
1314	(vacancy two years)	(vacancy two years)
1316	Michael of Cesena	John XXII
1329	Gerardus Odo	

APPENDIX III.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON THE EARLY LEGENDS OF SAINT FRANCIS.

A lengthy discussion of the sources of the life of Saint Francis would be out of place in the text of an essay dealing with the history of the Spiritual Franciscans. But for two reasons it seems right to refer in a note to these sources: first, because almost the whole of the present great interest in the history of the Franciscan movement is in the question of the relative value of the interpretation of the character and purpose of Saint Francis as given, on the one hand, by the official legends of Celano and Bonaventura, and, on the other hand, by the more fragmentary and dubious writings purporting to have come from the companions of the Saint; and secondly, because the knowledge of what confidence the zealots themselves had in the documentary support of their cause helps us to understand the claims of their later literature, as well as the unyielding fervor of their opposition to the curial closure of Gregory IX's *Quo elongati* and Innocent IV's *Ordinem vestrum.*

The *Legenda Prima* of Thomas of Celano, the fragment of the *Legenda Trium Sociorum,* and the official *Legenda* of Bonaventura, published by the Bollandist Suyskens in the *Acta Sanctorum* (October, vol. II, 1768 ff.), together with the *Legenda Secunda* of Thomas of Celano, discovered by Rinaldi and published at Rome (1806), constituted, until about twenty years ago, the only sources for the history of the origins of the order of Saint Francis. It was recognized, to be sure, that the later chroniclers of the order, especially the classic annalist Luke Wadding, had access to much material not contained in the Legends of Celano and Bonaventura; but that that material was of enough value to modify seriously the accepted interpretation of the early historians of the order

was not dreamed of. Even the works of Saint Francis himself, published with considerable pains but little critical sense by Wadding (Antwerp, 1623) were unheeded in the study of the order.

Karl Müller's *Die Anfänge des Minoritenordens und der Bussbrüderschaften* (Freiburg, 1885) and Franz Ehrle's studies on the relation of the Franciscan Spirituals to the order at large, in the *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte* (1885-1889), opened up the field for a new appreciation of the sources. The great value of Müller's brilliant and radical criticism of the origins of the order was in the emphasis which it put on the fragmentary *Legenda Trium Sociorum,* till then the Cinderella in the family of Franciscan Legends. By showing the close dependence on it of Celano's *Legenda Secunda,* Müller prepared the way for Sabatier and other scholars to seek further light on the early writings of Saint Francis' companions through the recovery of the lost chapters of the *Legenda Trium Sociorum.* The shift of interest from Celano and Bonaventura to the companions of the Saint is the crucial fact in the new study of the Franciscan sources.

Following the way opened by Müller and Ehrle, sifting the chronicles of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries for fragments from the immediate surroundings of Saint Francis, carefully studying the writings of the Saint himself, ransacking the convent libraries of Europe for Franciscan documents, Sabatier has succeeded, almost single-handed, in revolutionizing the traditional view of the early years of the order. Instead of the undisturbed story of the spread of missions, the multiplication of miracles, the progressive commitment of the discipline of the order to the Church, the grateful acceptance of the declaration of the mind of Saint Francis from the mouth of the pope, we have a story of conflict within the order and persecution from without. Even the earliest of the current biographies of the Saint, the *Legenda Prima* of Thomas of Celano, is a polemic, justifying the "practical" course of the expansionist Brother Elias against the attacks of Leo, the leader of the puritan faction among the early companions.[1]

[1] See p. 67, n. 1.

Against this thesis of Sabatier's the defendants of the traditional interpretation of Saint Francis protest, led by the Jesuit Father Van Ortroy (in the *Analecta Bollandiana*), Monsignore Faloci-Pulignani (in the *Miscellanea Franciscana*), and Professor Della Giovanna, author of the article "San Francesco d'Assisi Giullare" in the *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* (vol. XXV, 1895). The champions of the Saint Francis of Catholic tradition argue for the sufficiency of Celano and Bonaventura as biographers of the Poverello, deny any serious disagreement between the Church and any considerable part of the order, and maintain that the documents purporting to come from the companions of the Saint (even the Bollandist *Legenda Trium Sociorum,* in the case of Van Ortroy, *Anal. Boll.,* XIX, 1900, pp. 119-197) are forgeries of the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The Franciscans of the Strict Observance, while good Catholics, are favorable to Sabatier's vindication of the genuineness of the early "spiritual" sources. Two of them, the Fathers Marcellino da Civezza and Teofilo Domenichelli, recently paid with exile from Rome their too radical views in the publication of their reconstructed *Legenda Trium Sociorum.*[2] After having the "true history" of the order unquestioned since the days of Saint Bonaventura it must have come like something of a shock to Catholic scholars to read that the first century of Franciscan tradition has been "piena di tante oscurità da parere un dedale inestricabile".[3]

Unfortunately there has been considerable manifestation of the *odium theologicum* in the argument of the case against Sabatier, whose procedure has been strictly scientific. The following paragraph from Mariano's article on the modern biographers of Saint Francis is typical of the attitude of too many of the Catholic scholars: "Che cosa è infatti San Francesco rappresentato del Sabatier? E suppergiù lui stesso, un Paolo Sabatier, un anticipata incarnazione della persona sua, un appartenente alla sinistra radicale del moderno protestantismo, venuto già al mondo or sono secoli, animato dagli iden-

[2] See p. 12, n. 31.

[3] *La Leggenda di San Francesco, scritta da tre suoi Compagni,* Rome, 1899, Introduction, p. xxix.

tici concetti dissolventi e negativi, tendente identicamente a far man bassa sul Cristianismo positivo e storico, e in conclusione sulla religione".[4] And Monsignore Faloci-Pulignani has practically converted his once scientific periodical, the *Miscellanea Franciscana,* into an organ of attack on Sabatier's theological position. Remonstrated with by Father Minocchi, in the *Rivista Bibliografica Italiana,* 1898, for his unfair treatment of Sabatier, he replied: "Minocchi è padrona di aver simpatia per chi accusa Gregorio IX, il gran amico di San Francesco . . . di farsi paladino di un partito di zelanti che non volevano sentir parlare di papa, il che è eresia . . . mai non può vietare a noi di denunciare al pubblico lo scopo del Sabatier che è quello di voler sottrare al Catolicismo la gloria di aver dato al mondo San Francesco d'Assisi".[5] All of which is militant theology and not historical criticism.

The document about which the storm of criticism has raged most fiercely is the *Speculum Perfectionis,* published by Sabatier in 1898, as "the oldest legend" of the Saint.[6] Mr. Alfred G. Little gives a list twenty lines long (which he "does not pretend is complete") of the titles only of works called out by the publication of the *Speculum Perfectionis.*[7] The circumstances of Sabatier's discovery of the *Speculum Perfectionis* have already been given.[8] The *Explicit* of the Codex Mazarinus (1743) which Sabatier regards as confirmation of his conjecture of the priority of the *Speculum Perfectionis* over all other Legends of Saint Francis, ends with the words: "Actum in sacrosancto loco sanctae Mariae de Portiuncula et completum V° ydus May anno Domini M°CC°XXVIII°" (May 11, 1228). Apart from this exact date of the *Explicit,* Sabatier urges in support of his theory the fact that the later "spiritual" writings of Angelo da Clarino (*Historia septem Tribulacionum*) and Conrad of Offida (*Arbor Vitae*

[4] "Francesco d'Assisi ed alcuni dei suoi più recenti Biografi", in the *Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze Morali e Politiche,* Naples, 1896, p. 258.

[5] *Misc. Francesc.,* Foligno, VI, 78.

[6] *Speculum Perfectionis, seu S. Francisci Assisiensis Legenda Antiquissima,* Fischbacher, Paris, 1898.

[7] "The Sources of the Life of Saint Francis of Assisi", in the *English Historical Review,* October, 1902, XVII, 643-677.

[8] See p. 13, n. 35.

Crucifixi) contain quotations from the writings of Brother Leo which are frequently found in the *Speculum Perfectionis*; that the style and matter of the *Speculum Perfectionis* show unmistakable signs of very early composition (little of miracle or prophecy, very human view of the Saint, preference for the early Rule of 1220-1221 over the official Rule of 1223); that Gregory IX's emphasis in the bull *Quo elongati* (1230) on his "familiaritas longa" with the Saint, and his claim "plenius novisse intentionem eius", is a direct reply to the "nos qui cum ipso fuimus" of Brother Leo; and especially the dependence of Thomas of Celano's *Legenda Secunda* upon the *Speculum Perfectionis*.[9]

However, there are perhaps equally strong points to urge against the date 1228 for the *Speculum Perfectionis*. The commendatory letter of the authors of the *Legenda Trium Sociorum*, addressed to Crescentius in 1246, in presenting matter very closely related to the *Speculum Perfectionis*, says: "Credimus quod si venerabilibus viris qui praefatas legendas confecerant haec nota fuissent ea minime praeterissent"—a sentence hardly intelligible if the *Speculum Perfectionis* had been written twenty years earlier. Furthermore, the grievance of Leo over the erection of the new basilica at Assisi (which is assumed by Sabatier as the occasion of the publication of the *Speculum Perfectionis*) could not well have been prior to the laying of the corner-stone of the edifice by Gregory IX, in July, 1228.[10]

Finally, it is characteristic of the whole work of Sabatier that he himself was the discoverer of a codex in the Ognissanti Library at Florence,[11] whose *Explicit* closes with the words, "Actum in sacrosancto loco sanctae Mariae de Portiuncula et completum V° idus maii M°CCC°XVIII°" (May 11, 1318; modern style, 1317). The *Explicit* of the Ognissanti codex is probably the original, as that of the Mazarinus shows interpolations. Therefore Little, Boehmer, and other distinguished

[9] See Sabatier's *Introduction*, and his reply to Van Ortroy in the *Revue Historique*, LXXV, 61-101.

[10] See M. Barbi, *Bollettino della Società Dantesca*, VII (1900), 73; A. G. Little, *English Historical Review, loc. cit.*; H. Boehmer, *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franziskus von Assisi*, Tübingen and Leipzig, 1904.

[11] *Collection d' Etudes et de Documents sur l'Histoire du Moyen Âge*, vol. II, Paris, 1900.

Franciscan critics have accepted the year 1317 as the correct date for the *Speculum Perfectionis.* Sabatier himself has not accepted this date. So far as I know, his last public utterance on the subject is in his *Examen de quelques Travaux récents sur les Opuscules de Saint François.*[12] There he urges that there is nothing in the external criticism of the manuscripts to determine whether the scribe of the Mazarinus has changed a C into an M, or the scribe of the Ognissanti an M into a C; that the *Speculum Perfectionis* has remarkable homogeneity for a compilation made in the fourteenth century; and that it and the *Legenda Trium Sociorum* (largely Brother Leo's work) are the only early documents on Saint Francis bearing an exact date. He concludes with the judgment: "Il faut conclure que, si la date de 1317 est exacte, elle indiquerait non la date de la compilation mais la date de la copie d'une oeuvre préexistante. . . . Que le *Speculum Perfectionis* soit une compilation ou une oeuvre écrite d'une trait, qu'il soit de 1228 (1227) ou de 1318 (1317), il nous vient de Frère Léon".[13] Little concedes as much, in fact, when he sums up the case as follows: "The greater part of the *Speculum Perfectionis* consists of documents transmitted to Crescentius by the Three Companions in 1246. It also contains earlier and later writings of Friar Leo. All these were collected together and arranged by the friars of the Portiuncula in 1318 (1317). Some slight alterations and interpolations were made at this date, but in general the actual words of Leo and the other *socii* have been preserved. Though the *Speculum Perfectionis* was not written in 1227, it still remains the most valuable authority for the inner life of Saint Francis, and to Sabatier belongs the credit of having restored it to its rightful place."[14]

[12] *Opuscules de Critique Historique,* fascicule X, Paris, 1904.

[13] *Opuscules, loc. cit.,* p. 143. M. Sabatier assured me in a letter, dated August 10, 1905, in reply to the question whether he still held to the early date: "Oui, je crois toujours qu'il date de 1227."

[14] *English Historical Review, loc. cit.,* p. 622. Father Leonard Lemmens, successor of Ignatius Jeiler as prefect of the College of Saint Bonaventura, believes there were two recensions of the *Speculum Perfectionis:* one made about 1277 from the documents submitted to Crescentius by the Companions in 1246; and a later one, compiled at the Portiuncula in 1317. He believes he has the first (containing 54 of Sabatier's chapters) in a manuscript of St. Isidor in Rome. *Documenta Antiqua Franciscana,* Quaracchi, 1901, part II.

Compared with the *Speculum Perfectionis,* the reconstructed *Legenda Trium Sociorum* published by Civezza and Domenichello is of minor importance. It undoubtedly represents a Latin manuscript considerably more complete than the Bollandist fragment; but there is no reason for entertaining the optimistic view expressed by the authors in the sub-title: "pubblicata per la prima volta nella vera sua integrità". The fact that many of its chapters are mere summaries of chapters in the *Speculum Perfectionis,*[15] which are themselves in all probability material submitted to Crescentius by the companions of Saint Francis, is enough to show that we are not dealing here with a work "nella vera sua integrità". Its publication was hardly worth the price of exile!

Meanwhile the champions of the official Legends of Celano and Bonaventura continue to find the Bollandist fragment of the *Legenda Trium Sociorum* something of an embarrassment. Pulignani[16] and Della Giovanna[17] stoutly maintain that the legend is both genuine and complete as we have it in the *Acta Sanctorum.* Van Ortroy, whose critical acumen could never be satisfied with so direct a denial of every mark of internal evidence, seeks to prove that the *Legenda Trium Sociorum* is a clever forgery dating from the fourteenth century, and made up of pieces from Celano, Julian of Speyer, Bonaventura, Jordan of Giano, the *Speculum Perfectionis,* the *Vita Aegidii,* etc., etc.[18] But the attempt to silence the evidence in the *Legenda Trium Sociorum* of early writings by the companions of Saint Francis is vain. Too much of the Legend itself has been preserved, and every newly discovered manuscript and every newly analyzed compilation bears witness to the soundness of Sabatier's fundamental thesis of the very early existence of "spiritual" sources, however many conjectures or points of detail here and there in the lively polemic may prove to have been wrongly conceived.[19]

[15] Van Ortroy, *Anal. Boll.,* XIX, 458.

[16] *Misc. Francesc.,* VII, 81-119.

[17] *Giornale Stor. Ital.,* XXXII, 383.

[18] *Anal. Boll.,* XIX, 119-197. Sabatier's forceful reply in *Revue Historique,* LXXV, 61-101.

[19] See above, p. 7, n. 15. The most astonishing theory of the *Legenda Trium Sociorum* is proposed by Salvatore Minocchi in the *Archivio Storico Italiano,* 1900, XXIV, 81, "Nuovi Studi sulle Fonti biografiche

Another of the sources of Franciscan history which has given perplexity to scholars and on which valuable light has been thrown in the last few years is the so-called *Legenda Secunda* of Thomas of Celano. It had been known to annalists and historians of the order from the thirteenth century to the nineteenth that in addition to his *Legenda Prima* of Saint Francis, written at Gregory IX's bidding in 1228, Thomas of Celano wrote at least one other life of the Saint. Brothers Jordan of Giano and Salimbene of Parma, both chroniclers of the thirteenth century, mention a second work ("secundam legendam, alium librum") by Celano; and the *Cronica XXIV Generalium* (fourteenth century), Mariano of Florence (fifteenth century), Glassberger (sixteenth century), and Wadding (seventeenth century) continue the tradition. A copy of the *Legenda Secunda* by Celano was offered to the Bollandist Suyskens when he was at work on the life of Saint Francis, but he declined it,[20] thinking that Wadding was mistaken in his notice among the sources of the life of Saint Francis of an *ampliorem historiam* by Celano "quae communiter nuncupatur Legenda Antiqua".[21] Perhaps only a fragment of the *Legenda Secunda,* which failed to justify the description of the annalist, was offered to Suyskens. It was not until 1806 that the *Legenda Secunda* was published by Rinaldi at Rome.

A new edition of Rinaldi's work by Amoni appeared in 1880. The title-page of the Amoni edition reads, *Vita Secunda, seu Appendix ad Vitam Primam.* The only manuscript of this Legend known up to 1899 was No. 686 of the library at Assisi (fourteenth century). It has on its fly-leaf in a modern hand: "Memoriale beati Francisci in Desiderio Animae, id est vita eiusdem Francisci secunda a Thome de Celano praememorati s. patris discipulo conscripta". Both the Rinaldi-Amoni edition and the MS. 686 of Assisi are ac-

di S. Francesco d'Assisi". On the strength of a single expression (*quasi stella matutina*) in a Vatican manuscript (7339), which corresponds to a reference in Bernard of Bessa's *De Laudibus,* Minocchi makes an elaborate argument for John of Ceperano's authorship of the *Legenda Trium Sociorum.*

[20] *Commentarius Praevius,* ch. 7.

[21] Wadding, *Annales Minorum,* II, 240.

companied by an introductory letter, addressed to Crescentius and the chapter of Genoa,[22] "Placuit sanctae Universitati vestrae", which is attested by the *Cronica XXIV Generalium:* "Et post frater Thomas de Celano de mandato eiusdem ministri [Crescentius] et generalis capituli primum [*sic!*] tractatum legendae b. Francisci, de vita scilicet et verbis et intentione eius circa ea quae pertinent ad regulam compilavit, quae dicitur *Legenda Antiqua.* Quae dicto generali et capitulo dirigitur cum prologo qui incipit, Placuit sanctae Universitati vestrae".[23]

But how, if this *Legenda Antiqua* is the *Legenda Secunda* of Thomas of Celano, can the Rinaldi-Amoni edition speak of it as the "Appendix" to the first Legend; and how can the *Cronica XXIV Generalium* call it a *primum tractatum!* Moreover, the latter source goes on to say of John of Parma, the successor of Crescentius (1248-1257): "Hic generalis praecepit multiplicatis fratri Thomae de Celano ut vitam b. Francisci quae Antiqua Legenda dicitur perficeret, quia solum de eius conversatione et verbis in primo tractatu, de mandato fratris Crescentii generalis praedicti compilato omissis miraculis fecerat mentionem, et sic secundum tractatum qui de eiusdem s. patris agit miraculis compilavit quem cum epistula quae incipit Religiosa nostra solicitudo misit eidem generali".[24] There was a completion, then (*perficeret*), of this *primus tractatus* under John of Parma, containing the miracles of the Saint. One further complication to be reckoned with is Fra Salimbene's statement that Crescentius "praecepit fratri Thomae de Celano qui primam legendam b. Francisci fecerat ut iterum scriberet alium librum, eo quod multa inveniebantur [contributions of Leo's party?] de b. Francisco quae scripta non erant; et scripsit pulcherrimum librum tam de miraculis quam de vita quem appelavit Memoriale beati Francisci in desiderio animae". (Cf. fly-leaf of codex of Assisi 686, mentioned above.)[25]

Now neither the Rinaldi-Amoni edition nor the Assisi codex 686 contains the miracles spoken of in the *Cronica XXIV*

[22] See p. 11, n. 27.
[23] *Anal. Franc.,* Quaracchi, III (1897), 262.
[24] *Anal. Franc.,* Quaracchi, III (1897), 276.
[25] Fra Salimbene, *Cronica,* ed. Parma, 1857, p. 60.

Generalium and *Cronica* of Fra Salimbene; though some student of the codex (Papini?), not finding any other *secundum tractatum,* has adopted for it Salimbene's title, *Memoriale B. Francisci in desiderio animae.*

The question of the *Legenda Secunda* was in this confused state when in 1899 Father Antoine de Porrentruy of the Capuchins bought at the sale of the private library of an Italian nobleman (Buoncompagni) what proved to be a manuscript of the fourteenth century, entitled *Memorialis Gestorum et Virtutum S. Francisci.* This manuscript fulfils in every way the announcement of the *Cronica XXIV Generalium* and Fra Salimbene, containing, after the Legend, a short account of the canonization of the Saint and fourteen chapters of miracles performed by him living and dead. Rev. H. G. Rosedale has borrowed this manuscript of Père Édouard d' Alençon, archivist-general of the Capuchins, and published it as the true *Legenda Secunda* in his recent book, *St. Francis of Assisi according to Brother Thomas of Celano* (London, 1904). Rosedale believes that the discovery of this manuscript clears up the mist surrounding the *Legenda Secunda.* The *Legenda Antiqua* of the *Cronica XXIV Generalium,* the Assisi codex 686, and the *Secunda Vita* of Rinaldi-Amoni are one and the same thing, namely, an appendix to the *Legenda Prima* of Thomas of Celano.[26] Rosedale then arranges the writings of Thomas of Celano thus:

I. *Tractatus Primus,* containing (a) the *Legenda Gregorii* (our *Legenda Prima* of 1228), and (b) the *Appendix ad Vitam Primam* (our Rinaldi-Amoni *Legenda Secunda* of 1247).

II. *Tractatus Secundus,* containing (c) the *Life and Miracles of Saint Francis,* from the "Buoncompagni codex", written under John of Parma (1248-1257).

This conclusion of Rosedale's seems to me unwarranted. The works lettered (b) and (c) belong together, rather than those lettered (a) and (b). For aside from the absurdity of an "Appendix" written nineteen years after the *Legenda Prima,* both the *Cronica XXIV Generalium* and Salimbene point to the grouping of (b) and (c) together. The former says that Celano's work under John of Parma was to complete (*perficeret*) that done under Crescentius; the latter,

[26] Rosedale, *op. cit.,* Introduction, pp. xxix-xxxiii.

looking back on (b) (c) as a whole, attributed it all to the invitation of Crescentius. If this Buoncompagni codex is really "nothing less than the *pulcherrimum librum* of Salimbene" (Rosedale, Introduction, xxi), then Salimbene must have erred in dating it from the generalate of Crescentius instead of John of Parma. Rosedale's argument to dispel "the reader's first disposition to consider the Buoncompagni codex as merely the *Legenda Antiqua* (b), with the miracles added" (Introduction, p. xxxii), seems to me very weak. However, we have a valuable document in the newly found manuscript of Porrentruy's, which Rosedale, by the courtesy of Père d' Alençon, has first made public. It is only a pity that Rosedale's book is marred by such unpardonable typographical errors as *Assisii and Crescentius da Jesu,* among many minor slips.

The discovery of the *Speculum Perfectionis* has proved that Suyskens builded better than he knew in rejecting the *Legenda Secunda* of Thomas of Celano, if offered to him in the form of the Assisi codex 686 or the Rinaldi-Amoni edition. For of the three parts of the Legend there contained, the first corresponds closely to the Bollandist *Legenda Trium Sociorum* (as pointed out by Müller in 1885), while the second and third parts contain about eighty chapters of the *Speculum Perfectionis.* Moreover, the material in the second and third parts is arranged topically, like that of the *Speculum Perfectionis,* while the first part follows the *Legenda Trium Sociorum* in the form of a continuous biography. The theory of Sabatier[27] seems to me inevitable: under the lax Crescentius, Celano suppressed the inconvenient material furnished by the companions of Saint Francis; but at the bidding of the zealot John of Parma he let the "spiritual" writings come out (as they now appear in the *Speculum Perfectionis*).

Between the *Legenda Prima* of Thomas of Celano and the writings called out by Crescentius' invitation at the chapter of Genoa (1244), we have a notice of biographies of Saint Francis by John of Ceperano and Julian of Speyer.[28] The former is as yet undiscovered;[29] the latter has been identified

[27] See p. 13, n. 34.
[28] Wadding, *Annales Minorum,* II, 240.
[29] See Minocchi's theory of Ceperano's Legend, p. 79, n. 19.

by Weis with the anonymous *Vita* in the *Commentarius Praevius* to the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* (October, tom. II).[30] Fragments of a *Dialogue on Saint Francis,* prepared by Crescentius, still existed in the time of Bernard of Bessa,[31] which Lemmens claims to have discovered and promises to edit.[32]

Getting back to the *Legenda Prima* of Thomas of Celano, we have a source authenticated beyond question. Even the date of the Legend is determined to within a few months. The Legend recounts the canonization of the saint, which took place July 11, 1228, while the endorsement on the Mazarinus codex[33] sets as the *terminus ad quem* the 25th of February, 1229. There are nine manuscripts of the Legend extant (described by Rosedale, Introduction, pp. xiii-xxvii) scattered from Barcelona in Spain to Ossegg in Bohemia. These codices show no important variations, and thereby prove that the closing words of Gregory IX's decree,[34] *et censuit fore tenendam,* were thoroughly effective. The Legend, whether or not written as a reply to the attacks of the "Spiritual" Leo (*Speculum Perfectionis*) on the "practical" policy of Brother Elias, represents the interests of Elias, "quem loco matris sibi elegerat [Francis, himself!] et aliorum fratrum fecerat patrem". The Legend has no word for the troubles of the order in 1219-1220;[35] it does not mention the early zealots, Leo, Angelo, Masseo, Bernard, Rufinus, Egidius; it ignores the early Rule of 1210-1221; it skips the chapters-general of the order.[36]

The Celanese Legend was rendered in verse by John of Kent before 1230, and the quaint hexameters have been published by Cristofani, librarian of the commune of Assisi.[37]

[30] J. E. Weis, *Julian von Speier, Forschungen zur Franciskus- und Antonius-Kritik,* Munich, 1900.

[31] *Anal. Franc.,* Quaracchi, III (1897), 263. Sabatier, *Opuscules,* vol. III.

[32] *Documenta Antiqua Franciscana,* Quaracchi, 1902, part III, p. 19.

[33] See p. 10, n. 22.

[34] See p. 11, n. 27.

[35] Cf. the *Chronicle* of Jordan of Giano, ed. Quaracchi, I (1885), chs. 9-12.

[36] Elias omitted all chapters-general during the autocratic term of his generalate, 1232-1239. Salimbene, p. 34.

[37] Cristofani, *Il più antico Poema della Vita di San Francisco, scritta innanzi al anno* 1230. Prato, 1882.

The writings of Saint Francis himself (*Opuscula*) have been sadly neglected by the historians of the order. To be sure, Wadding published them, with little critical work, before the middle of the seventeenth century (Antwerp, 1623), and a few biographers of the Saint, whose sympathies have been with the Spirituals, have made use of the *Opuscula.*[38] But generally the Legends have been preferred to Saint Francis' own writings as a source for his life. At present the criticism of the older "spiritual" writings has led us back through Leo to Saint Francis himself.[39] Three important works touching the *Opuscula S. Francisci* have been published lately, viz: *Opuscula S. Francisci Assisiensis secundum codices manuscriptas,* etc., by L. Lemmens (Quaracchi, 1904); *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi,* by H. Boehmer (Tübingen, 1904); and *Die Quellen zur Geschichte des Heiligen Franciscus von Assisi,* by Goetz (Gotha, 1904). Sabatier, in the tenth *Fascicule* of the *Opuscules de Critique Historique,*[40] reviews these works, concluding with the remark: "Il y a dix ans fut tenté le premier effort pour rechercher dans les Opuscules une des sources de l'histoire de Saint François.[41] Aujourd'hui historiens et critiques ne se sont plus séparés que sur les détails: tous s'accordent à voir dans les Opuscules la pierre de touche sur laquelle il faut éprouver la valeur des diverses légendes."

To sum up the present status of the sources of the life of Saint Francis before Bonaventura and the decree of the Parisian chapter of 1266, we have:

1. The *Opuscula* of Saint Francis, offering many points of contact with the early "spiritual" sources.

(Ed. Wadding, Antwerp, 1623; Heroy, Paris, 1880; Boehmer, Tübingen, 1904; Lemmens, Quaracchi, 1904.)

2. The *Legenda Prima* of Thomas of Celano (1228), adopted as the official biography of the Saint by Gregory IX, 1229.

(Ed. Suyskens, *AA. SS.,* 1768; Rinaldi, Rome, 1806; Amoni, Rome, 1880; Rosedale [as *Legenda Gregorii*], London, 1904.)

[38] *E. g.,* Chalippe, *Vie de St. François d'Assise,* Paris, 1728.

[39] "L'Oeuvre de Frère Léon n'est en quelque Sort que le prolongement des Opuscules." Sabatier, *Speculum Perfectionis,* p. xxv.

[40] See p. 78, n. 12.

[41] In Sabatier's own *Vie de Saint François d'Asisse,* Paris, 1894; Etude Critique des Sources.

3. The *Speculum Perfectionis,* probably arranged in its present form by the friars of the Portiuncula in 1317, but containing material directly transmitted from Brother Leo and his associates.

(Ed. Sabatier, Paris, 1898.)

4. The *Legenda Trium Sociorum,* written in 1246, in response to Crescentius' call for material on the life of Saint Francis, by the companions Leo, Rufinus, and Angelo. The material was "edited" (probably by Celano) and reduced to the fragmentary form in which we find it in the *Acta Sanctorum.*

(Ed. Suyskens, *AA. SS.,* 1768; Le Monnier, Paris, 1828; Civezza and Domenichelli, Rome, 1899, from an old Italian version of the sixteenth century.)

5. The *Legenda Secunda* of Thomas of Celano, a product of the same historical conditions as the foregoing source, written 1248-1257; corresponding in its first part (written under Crescentius) with no. 4, and in its second and third parts (written under John of Parma) with no. 3.

(Ed. Rinaldi, Rome, 1806; Amoni, Rome, 1880; Rosedale, London, 1904.)

6. The *Legenda* of Julian of Speyer, mentioned in the thirteenth-century chroniclers Jordan of Giano and Bernard of Bessa. Of no significance.

(Ed. Suyskens, *AA. SS., Comm. praev.,* 1768; Van Ortroy, *Anal. Boll.,* 1902.)

APPENDIX IV.

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*2. *Legendae* by Celano. Rosedale, London, 1904.

*3. *Legenda Trium Sociorum.*
Da Civezza and Domenichello, Rome, 1899.

*4. *Speculum Perfectionis.* Sabatier, Paris, 1898.

*5. *Analecta Franciscana,* etc.
Müller *et al.,* Quaracchi, 1885 ff.
Vol. I, Chronicles of Jordan of Giano and Thomas of Eccleston, 1885.
Vol. II, Chronicle of Nicholas Glassberger, 1887.
Vol. III, Chronicle of the XXIV Generals and the *De Laudibus* of Bernard of Bessa, 1897.

6. *Historia Septem Tribulacionum, auctore Angelo da Clarino.* Ehrle, *Archiv,* II, IV, 1885.

7. *Annales Minorum* (2d ed.). Wadding, Rome, 1731. (The classic source for the history of the order. A polemic in favor of the strict observance of the Rule. Charming style, but too much emphasis on miracles, missions, and hagiography.)

8. *Cronica Fra Salimbene Parmensis.* Parma, 1857. (Diffuse and often trivial, but of value for the relations of the order to the Ghibelline forces of northern Italy.)

9. *Memorabilia Jordani de Giano.* See no. 5, vol. I.
(Written in 1262. Valuable for the early years of the order in Germany, and especially as a corrective to Celano on the troublesome years 1219-1220.)

10. *De Adventu Minorum in Angliam, Auctore Thomas of Eccleston.* See no. 5, vol I.
Brewer, London, 1858.
(Valuable for list of early ministers-general, and for the account of the chapter of 1239, in which Elias was deposed.)

11. Writings of Petrus Johannis Olivi and Ubertino da Casale. Ehrle, in *Archiv,* 1886-1887.
(Defence of the "Spirituals" in Italy and Provence.)

12. *Bernardi Guidonis Practica Inquisitionis Haereticae Pravitatis.* Douais, Paris, 1886.
(Part V contains cases of procedure against "those commonly called Beguines, who also pretend to be of the Third Order of the Rule of Saint Francis".)

13. *Directorium Inquisitorum* of Nicholas Eymerich.
Pegna, Venice, 1607.
(Valuable for Inquisition of the fourteenth century in Spain and Portugal.)

14. *Bullarium Franciscanum.*
I-IV, Sbaralea, 1759 ff.
V, Euler, 1898.
(Contains papal bulls, letters, decrees referring to the order, from various Registers of popes and Morini's *Speculum Minoritum,* Venice, 1509.)

15. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum.*
Potthast, Berlin, 1874.
(A full collection of papal bulls from 1198 to 1304.)

16. *Joachim Florensis in Apocalipsim Libri VI; accedit Psalterium X Cordarum.* Venice, 1707.
(The genuine works of Joachim, contrasting in their attitude toward the Roman curia with the pseudo-Joachitic writings of the thirteenth century. See p. 55, n. 16.)

17. *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio.*
Mansi, Florence, 1759 ff.

18. *Corpus Juris Canonici.* Friedberg, Leipzig, 1879. (For the decretals of John XXII.)

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19. *Annales Ecclesiastici.* Raynaldus, Rome, 1652.
20. *Historia Angliae.* Matthew Paris, ed. London, 1866.
21. *Antiquitates Italicae.* Muratori, Arezzo, 1773 ff.
22. *Fontes Rerum Germanicarum.* Boehmer, Stuttgart, 1843.
23. *Regesta Imperii* (1314-1347). Boehmer, Frankfort, 1839.
24. *Monumenta Miscellanea Varia.* Baluzius-Mansi, Lucca, 1761.
25. *Spicilegium Veterum . . . Scriptorum.* D'Achéry, Paris, 1723.
26. *Collectio Judiciorum,* etc. D'Argentré, Paris, 1728.
27. *Thesaurus Novus,* etc. Martène-Durand, Paris, 1717.

B.

LITERATURE.

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On Saint Francis and the Spread of the Order.

28. *Vita di San Francesco.* Bonghi, Città di Castello, 1884. (The only one of the many lives of the Saint called out by the anniversary of 1882 that is large and scholarly in its treatment. In most of the Italian biographies the polemic or edifying purpose is evident.)
29. *Vie de Saint François d'Assise.* Sabatier, Paris, 1894. (The classic biography of the Saint. Brilliant scholarship combined with the utmost charm of style.)
30. *François d'Assise.* Renan, Paris, 1879. (A sympathetic study of the Saint—the best before Sabatier's—in the *Nouvelles Études Religieuses.*)

*31. *Die Anfänge des Minoritenordens und der Bussbrüderschaften.* Müller, Freiburg, 1885.

32. "Franz von Assisi und die Gründung des Franciskanerordens." Hegler, 1895.
(Article in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche,* criticising Sabatier's work as too radical.)

33. *Die Niederlassungen der Minoriten im Rheingebiet.* Koch, Leipzig, 1881.
(Valuable for the early history of the Franciscans in Germany, but painfully detailed and dry.)

II.

On the Theology of the Franciscans.

34. *L'Eresia nel Medio Evo.* Tocco, Florence, 1884.
(Shows the progress first from heresy to schism, then from schism to heresy in medieval thought. Identifies the Spiritual Franciscans with the heretical Beghines.)

35. *Die Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter.* Reuter, Berlin, 1875.
(The classic presentation of radical religious thought in the Middle Ages. Not so sympathetic a treatment of the Franciscans as Tocco's.)

36. *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages.* Lea, New York, 1880 ff.
(A work of the very first rank, but rather severe on the Church. Vol. III contains an account of the persecution of the Spiritual Franciscans.)

37. *L'Inquisition dans le Midi de la France, au XIII^e^ et au XIV^e^ Siècles.* Molinier, Paris, 1880.
(Very exhaustive and scholarly account of the persecutions suffered by the suspected Spirituals of Provence and Languedoc.)

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(Study of the radical and quietistic influences at work in Italy in the Middle Ages.)

39. Articles on Olivi and the Council of Vienne.
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III.

On Joachim of Flora and the Eternal Gospel.

(See page 36, note 18.)

IV.

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40. *Der Kampf Ludwigs des Bayern mit der römischen Curie.* Müller, Tübingen, 1879. (For discussion of authorship of the Sachsenhausen Protest.)
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44. *Geschichte K. Friedrichs des Zweiten und seiner Reiche.* Winkelmann, Berlin, 1863.
45. *Geschichte Innocenz des Drittens.* Hurter, Hamburg, 1834.
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47. *Histoire Littéraire de la France,* vol. XXII. Leclerc-Renan, Paris, 1865.
48. *Histoire Diplomatique de Frédéric II.* Huillard-Bréholles, Paris, 1870.
49. *Les Poètes Franciscains en Italie au XIII^e^ Siécle.* Ozanam, Paris, 1882.
50. *Studies in Medieval Life and Literature.* McLaughlin, New York, 1894.

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